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THE NATURE OF EDWARD CARPENTERS' DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE

by

James Arthur Maloney

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APPROVED

by

First Reader Winslow H. Loveland
Professor of

Second Reader Thomas R. Walker
Professor of

"THIS NOBLE ENSAMPLE TO HIS SHEEP HE YAF,

THAT FIRST HE WROUGHTE, AND AFTERWARD HE TAUGHTE."

G. CHAUCER

"THE TRUE DEMOCRACY HAS YET TO COME."

E. CARPENTER

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INTRODUCTION

My first acquaintance with the works of Edward Carpenter was made by reading the following quotation from his short poem entitled These Populations:

"Thousands of men companioning the waves and the storms, splendid in health, naked breasted, catching the lion with their hands;

"A thousand women swift footed and free-owners of themselves, in all their actions--full of joy and laughter and action;

"Garbed not so differently from the men, joining with them in their games and sports, sharing also their labors;

"Free to hold their own, to grant or withhold their love, the same as men;

"Strong, well equipped in muscle and skill, clear of finesse and affectation--

"The men, too, clear of much brutality and conceit--

"Comrades together, equal in intelligence and adventure,

"Trusting without concealment, loving without shame but with discrimination and continence towards a perfect passion."[1]

The content and spirit of this excerpt was so much to my liking that I resolved to become more fully acquainted with its author and his works. I may now suggest that there has been no better book produced for this purpose, up to the present time, than that by Carpenters' friend and kindred spirit Edward Lewis.[2]

1 Towards Democracy p. 267

2 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation.

One of the things that I have been profoundly impressed by, since the beginning of my study of Carpenter, is the unfamiliarity of many of my colleagues who have excellent backgrounds in English literature with even the name of Carpenter. This point accentuates itself when one becomes aware of the diversity of Carpenters' works and his numerous associations and interests which are all manifest in his writings. There must be some reason for this relative obscurity of the man and his works and in this thesis I hope to be able to reveal it. That this sentiment has been shared by others is shown by an American admirer of Carpenters' in a letter to one of our magazines who also continues to proclaim that "His (Carpenters') prose is staggering in its' powerful simplicity and Towards Democracy is the key to a heaven."[1]

Apostle, and poet of the new democracy, prophet, humanitarian, seer, mystic, and friend of the mass people are among some of the epithets used to characterize Carpenter. Not any one of these or all together can adequately describe the nature of this great and humble soul who abandoned what he knew to be spurious, for no ulterior motives, but simply because of a truly human urge that could not be stifled by the canting voice of convention. Born and nurtured in opulence, classicist, scholar, and genuine scientist, possessor of a cultural heritage of the first rank Carpenter realized the futility of continuing in the shallow life of those in his own social sphere, so he directed his capacities in the channels where he believed they would be of most benefit to all.

1 The Nation September 11, 1929, H. W. Jarrett.

Carpenter has been called " a pronounced and advanced socialist--perhaps an anarchist," his socialism is manifest in practically every page of his writings. Yet, like his democracy it cannot be classified in any dogmatic definition or categorized into any school; it transcends and incorporates all social, political, and economic systems.

It will be my purpose in this thesis to attempt to ascertain and evince to some extent the nature of Edward Carpenters' concept of the desirable social order that is indicated in Towards Democracy and in other literature of his that he declares has been written chiefly for the purpose of clarifying questions raised in his mind by the writing of Towards Democracy.

In addition to this I shall consider the literary influences that have been most conducive in the formation of Carpenters' thought and literary expression and his avowed preferences regarding various authors and their styles.

I shall also attempt to demonstrate how Edward Carpenters' democratic teachings have not been relegated to planes of speculation and mere theory but have been vitalized by the life and activities of their author; and how their expression has been instrumental in establishing not only a galaxy of admirers but also a multitude of devoted adherents to his doctrine in many lands. It will be of interest here to note that translations of Carpenters' works appear in nine other languages beside their original English.

Chapter 1

Edward Carpenter was born in Brighton, England in 1844. His father of Cornish descent, and the son of an Admiral in the Navy, followed his fathers' profession as a boy, practiced law with success, and was later appointed a magistrate which position he held till a year or two before his death. He was a man of strong religious feeling but emancipated from current othodoxies in religion. Carpenter attributes much to his early contact with his fathers' mind. His mother of Scottish descent "was not so much intellectual or imaginative as practical and prompt to act, with a kingly sense of duty and courage."

Carpenters' early life up to the age of twenty was spent at Brighton in a "would-be fashionable world" which he hated. Of a timid and sensitive nature with a penchant for religion he entered Brighton College at the age of ten, where he established a good though not remarkable record, maintaining equal interest in the classics and mathematics. At about the age of thirteen he spent a year in France with his large family, attending school as a day-boy with his younger brother Alfred. His lasting memories from this period all belong to subjects outside of school --the music of Mozart and Beethoven and a strong love of nature, the Sea and the Downs were his favourite refuge. He became interested in Tennyson around the age of eighteen and was especially devoted to In Memoriam. He later became attached to Wordsworth and then Shelley (at Cambridge). He avers, "After that Whitman dominated me. I do not think any other of the poets--unless Plato should bear that name--have deeply influenced me."[1]

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 28.

In writing about this period of his life in 1890, Carpenter says, "The tension of those early days, the unexpressed hatred which I felt, though I did not understand it, for the social conditions in which I was born, was destined, when its meaning gradually realized itself in my consciousness, to become one of the great directing forces of my after life."[1]

Between school and college days Carpenter spent some months at Heidelberg; it was here that he wrote his first verses--in German. He then returned to Cambridge and Trinity Hall, where at the end of the first term he was easily head of his year in the College examinations. At the end of a few terms he was recommended by his tutor to read for the mathematical tripos, and ultimately obtained a fellowship. About the time of his degree Carpenter turned towards literary production. He had won two College prizes for English essays and shortly after taking his degree in 1870 he was awarded the University prize of 100(pounds sterling) for an essay on The Religious Influence of Art.

In the mathematical tripos of 1868 Carpenter came out tenth wrangler which was sufficiently high to justify a Fellowship at the College; in the Autumn of that year he came into residence at Trinity Hall as a Lecturer; shortly afterwards he was elected to a Clerical Fellowship; and in July, 1869 he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Ely.

In the intervening period prior to Carpenters' ordination into the priesthood among other duties he was required to write A Life of Abraham. The incident that ensued must be considered by keeping in mind his upbringing in the philosophical Broad Churchism of his father.

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 35.

With no misgivings Carpenter submitted a paper containing the unorthodox idea that Abraham's intended immolation of Isaac was a relic of Moloch worship, and the ancient practice of human sacrifice. He was soon interrogated by the Bishop of Ely (Harold Browne) and was requested by him to write out his doctrine. On the morning of the ordination ceremony the Bishop told Carpenter that he could not refuse to ordain him but he believed his views were not those of the Church. He was ordained and soon became a curate at St. Edward's Church Cambridge, under Frederick Denison Maurice, the famous Christian socialist leader whose Broad Church mysticism had already influenced Carpenter prior to his ordination. His discontent with the life and practices of the clergy soon became obvious. Realizing what it would mean financially and otherwise to abandon his Orders Carpenter hesitated, but illness in the middle of May, 1871, created a juncture which caused Carpenter to finish his lectures abruptly and left Maurice to find another curate. Carpenter left.

Up to the time of taking his degree (January 1868) Carpenter had eschewed intellectual and literary circles. As an undergraduate his companions had mostly been boating men. After the degree, however, he came into a more literary society. The friends he made in this circle aired their heretical views in a most unrestrained manner. Carpenter soon became disgusted with the impractical and unapplied artificialism of these pseudo-intellectuals. Looking back on these days in later years Carpenter asks, "what avail was the brain when the heart demanded so much, and demanding was still unsatisfied?"[1]

It was at this time (the summer of '68 or '69) that one of

1 My Days and Dreams, p.63

Carpenters' colleagues presented him with William Rossetts's edition of Whitmans' poems and after reading them over and over he declared, "Never had I found anything approaching these writings of Whitmans' for their unexhaustible quality and power of making one return to them."[1]

He believed, however, that his interest in Whitmans' poems at that time was mainly intellectual and that he had not established an en rapport relationship with the spirit of their author. This is shown by the fact that he continued writing verses modelled on Wordsworth and Shelley and remained in the artificial and academic atmosphere that he had been accustomed to. This continued until 1872 when Carpenter found it impossible to remain at his lecturing; he had already given up his church duties. Near the end of 1872 he requested a leave of absence which was readily granted.

A trip to Italy in 1873, during which Carpenter spent time at Rome, Naples, and Florence, introduced him to Greek sculpture which had a profound effect on him. Speaking of this he says, "adding itself to and corroborating the effect of Whitmans' poetry, (it) left with me as it were the seed of new conceptions of life,"..."the Greek ideal of the free and gracious life of man at one with nature and the cosmos,"..."the sense of harmonious life and divine proportion."[2]

After this trip Carpenter seriously thought of choosing literature as a profession realizing that his Cambridge career was at an end. In November 1873 he published his first book, at his own expense, under the title Narcissus and other Poems, it was a fiasco as a literary venture. Carpenter himself later says of it, "Nor was there any reason why it should stir. There was nothing of any moment in the book; only a vague sentiment of Nature and humanity running through, not definite

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 65.
2 My Days and Dreams, p. 67-68.

enough at any point to carry weight; and really not so much of the authors' own self in it, as of his effort to reach a certain literary standard."[1]

During that time Carpenter had definitely decided to relinquish his orders, and a few weeks previous to the Christmas season (1873) assembly of the fellows for College business, he wrote to the Master of Trinity Hall informing the Master of his intentions and placed his Fellowship in the Masters' hands. He then attended the assembly where many of his close friends and Fellows, who later became eminent in public life, did their best to dissuade him from his chosen course of action, but Carpenter remained resolute. He then set the ecclesiastical law in operation to effect his unfrockment and in August 1874 he received the legal document which secularized him.

After his unfrockment Carpenter became determined that he would throw in his lot with the mass-people and manual workers. In October, 1874, he began to give a course of University Extension lectures in astronomy and music in the northern towns of Leeds, Halifax, and Skipton--living in Leeds at the time. This continued until 1876 when his itinerary was changed from the Leeds district to Nottingham, York, and Hull.

In April 1877 Carpenter made his first visit to Whitman in America, during which time he also became acquainted with Emerson, Holmes, Bryant, John Burroughs, and others. In July of the same year he returned to his life of lodging and lectures.

In 1878-79 Carpenter made Sheffield the headquarters of his lectures, where he remained until 1881 when he gave up his lecturing in order to

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 71.

live among the mass-people and devote his time more fully to his literature. During this period of the Extension lectures Carpenter became well acquainted with the manufacturing centers and commercial society of the North also making many lasting friendships among the people he associated with.

Carpenter considered the year 1879 in many ways the beginning of a new life for him. In this year he adopted a vegetarian diet and substituted manual labor for his customary, cricket, and athletics. Two of his laboring friends of that period, Albert Fearnehough and Charles Fox are described in his autobiography. Carpenter gave some account of the latter and his household in a fascinating and humorous sketch entitled Martin Turner.[1] Speaking later of the effect of these two men Carpenter says, "They represented at any rate for me a deliverance from the idiotic fatuous life I had been submerged in all my boyhood at Brighton, and more or less ever since."[2]

Carpenter's parents died in 1881 and 1882 and it was at this time while he was living at Bradway that he began writing Towards Democracy. His fathers' death left him the possessor of about 6,000 (pounds sterling) which with his own savings rather oppressed him, of this he says, "However, I happily managed in the next few years to get rid of a good portion of this!"[3]

In 1883 Carpenter established himself at Millthorpe, in the neighborhood of Sheffield, on a seven acre farm which he intended to work as a market gardener. Just at this time he read Thoreaus' Walden, which completely shattered his plans. His comment on this book is in-

1 Vide Sketches from Life in Town and Country.
2 My Days and Dreams, p. 104.
3 My Days and Dreams, p. 110.

teresting and well worth quoting in its entirety: (sic) "Whatever the practical value of the Walden experiment may be, there is no question that the book is one of the most vital and pithy ever written. Its ideal of life spent with Nature on the very ground plane of simplicity (though probably only permanently realizable by a highly cultured humanity, having access to all the results of art and science, as Thoreau had at Concord) has yet shattered the conventional views of thousands of people. It helped, I must confess, to make me uncomfortable for some years. I felt that I had aimed at a natural life and completely failed--that I might somehow have escaped from this blessed civilization altogether--and now I was tied up worse than ever, on its commercial side."[1]

In the summer of 1884 Carpenter again visited America, this time he crossed as a steerage passenger and the trip is described in his poem On an Atlantic Steamship.[2] After spending some days with Whitman, who gave him an introduction to Dr. Bucke of Canada, he came to Townsend Centre, Mass., staying on a farm with some friends, he helped in the farm work for about three weeks. A trip to Lake, and Mount Wachusett is also described in a poem titled By Lake Wachusett.[3] Returning home by way of Canada he met Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, in London Ontario, who has since devoted much attention to Carpenters' life and Works.[4]

Carpenter was associated with the activities of the Sheffield Socialist Society for five or six years after its establishment early in 1886 these activities will be discussed more at length in a later chapter.

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 116.
2 Towards Democracy, p. 203.
3 Towards Democracy, p. 213.
4 Vide Cosmic Consciousness; Passim.

In the year 1890 Carpenter visited Ceylon and India and in 1892 published a complete account of this trip under the title From Adams Peak to Elephanta.[1]

From 1885 onwards Carpenter lectured pretty frequently in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Bristol, Leeds, Birmingham, Bradford, and in other places. At first his lectures were chiefly in connection with the various Socialist Societies and groups. Afterwards the lectures broadened into various aspects of literature and philosophy and were directed to more general types of audiences. Carpenter was active in the work of the Humanitarian League founded in 1891, speaking on such subjects as prison reform, vivisection, simplification of life, etc. He frequently appeared to lecture at Railway-men Clubs and branch meetings and for various other labor clubs. These activities are recorded from 1885 to the time of the World War (1915) in Carpenters' autobiography. During the war time Carpenters' lecture was usually on some phase of Industrial Reform.

Carpenters' life at Millthorpe, where he practiced, in everyday life, his philosophy of beauty and simplification of life, is recorded in two chapters in his autobiography.[2] With the exception of the earlier part of Towards Democracy all the rest of Carpenters' important works were produced there, in an atmosphere of freedom and open air and in direct contact with the basic elements and realities of life. During the first fifteen years spent at Millthorpe Carpenter was somewhat handicapped by the presence of a small working family in the house; for the first ten years it was the Fearnehough family and for the next five years the Adams family, after that George Merrill, Carpenters' friend, lived with him until his death.

1 Vide Chapter III infra
2 My Days and Dreams, 147-189.

In the last chapter of Carpenters' autobiography entitled How the World looks at Seventy we find his democratic attitude beautifully expressed in the following words: "I used to go and sit on the beach at Brighton and dream, and now I sit on the shore of human life and dream practically the same dreams. I remember about the time that I mention--or it may have been a trifle later--coming to the distinct conclusion that there were only two things really worth living for--the glory and beauty of Nature, and the glory and beauty of human love and friendship. And today I still feel the same."[1]

Still maintaining his characteristic disdain for all that was connected with the "jerry-built cheapjack Commercial Civilization" of the day, Carpenter at this advanced age was still optimistic enough to make this observation: "I seem to see in the general average of human life, in the ordinary daily needs, a steady force pushing mankind onwards, or rather, gradually unfolding through mankind--the liberation of a core of goodness and worth which is undeniable, impossible to ignore, and daily coming more and more into evidence."[2]

At present there is no organized biographical material covering Carpenters' life from 1916, the date of publication of his autobiography, to the time of his death. I have ascertained, however, from Gilbert Beiths'[3] preface to the work which he edited that in his last years Carpenters' correspondence ceased because of his age and infirmities and that after his eightieth birthday, his mind grew dimmer. In January 1928 the death of George Merrill his housemate proved a shock from which Carpenter never recovered. In May of 1928 Carpenter suffered from a paralytic stroke which rendered him almost helpless, he lived for thirteen months after this and "Finally after three days of semi-unconsciousness,

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 302.
2 My Days and Dreams, p. 310
3 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation.

he passed over on the perfect summer afternoon of Friday, June 28, 1929--calmly and without distress."[1]

I think that this sketch of Carpenters' life contains sufficient detail to indicate his constant and uninterrupted proclivity toward a more natural and democratic life, not to be superficially regarded as needing expression in the material sense alone, but by remembering that the external expression and visible behavior is nothing more that an outward manifestation of the harmony of the inner spirit. It must also be remembered that Carpenter did not restrict his teaching to the lecture hall or to his books, his every activity was an exemplification of his doctrine and another shift in the process of the "soul's slow disentanglement."

1 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation p. 13.

Chapter II

We have already noted that Carpenter was first introduced to Whitmans' works in 1868 or 1869 and he declared that he read and re-read the works continuously for ten years. In his preface to Towards Democracy he says, "I never met with any other book (with the exception perhaps of Beethovens' sonatas) which I could read and re-read as I could this one. I find it difficult to imagine what my life would have been without it. Leaves of Grass 'filtered and fibred' my blood; but I do not think I tried to imitate it or its style... Whatever resemblance there may be between the rhythm, style, thoughts, constructions, etc., of the two books, must I think be set down to a deeper similarity of emotional atmosphere and intension in the two authors--even though that similarity may have sprung and no doubt largely did spring out of the personal influence of one upon the other."[1]

Bliss Perry superficially dispatches the question of this relation with the few following hasty words, "Edward Carpenter, who has a message of his own to deliver in Whitmanian verse, has handled the instrument not unskillfully."[2]

There is a good deal more to the question than that, as Edward Lewis indicates when he asserts, "The relation of Carpenter to Whitman is a nice problem in higher criticism."[3] Lewis' observation regarding the relationship is more compendious than any other that I have encountered in my research he asserts, "perhaps the actual relation of the two men may best be expressed in the figure of speech that Whitman played the part of midwife in the deliverance of Carpenters' spiritual child."[4]

1 Towards Democracy, p. XVIII.
2 Walt Whitman, His Life and Work, p. 285.
3 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation, p. 3.
4 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation, pp. 4-5.

He continues the comparison of the two authors and concludes by saying, "In his own rank and right Carpenter is a Master."

Some of the effects of the continual reading of Whitman or Carpenter are recorded in his autobiography and they will undoubtedly reveal his own feelings better than anything else, he writes: "I began in fact to realize that, above all else, I had come in contact with a great Man; not great thoughts, theories, views of life, but a great Individuality, a great Life. I began to see and realize correspondingly that 'views' and intellectual furniture generally were not the important thing I had before imagined; that character and the statement of Self, persistently, under diverse conditions were all-important; that the body in Man(and this the Greek statuary had helped me to realize), and the quality corresponding to body in all art and behavior, was radiant in meaning and beautiful beyond words; and that the production of splendid men and women was the aim and only true aim of State policy."[1]

Of Carpenters' two trips to America the first was more fruitful as far as Whitman was concerned. On his second trip he found that Whitmans' self centerdness had increased he attributed this to physical causes, and that it seemed difficult to overcome. It will be interesting here, and will better assist us in understanding Carpenters' attitude by noting his impressions of American men of letters that he became acquainted with during his first visit to America. He thought that "Emerson was very charming and friendly." They discussed Whitman and at the time Emersons' comments were not wholly favorable. He asserts, "Oliver Wendell Holmes did not please me so well--a good natured little spiteful creature." In New York he met Bryant, the poet, who at the time was 84 years of age and still quite active Carpenter sums up his impression of him thus, "A

1 My Days and Dreams, p. 86.

very literary person--and manners extremely undemonstrative, even unsympathetic." When he comes to the purpose of his journey he continues, "But it was Whitman I came out to see, and he in interest and grandeur of personality out-towered them all."

"The other thing that fascinated me in America was Niagara...It was the only thing I saw which seemed to match Whitman in spirit." In John Burroughs he found a kindred and sympathetic spirit. He remained with him for a few days and his description of him is significant. "A tough reserved farmer--like exterior, some old root out of the woods one might say--obdurate to wind and weather--but a keen quick observer close to nature and the human heart, and worth a good many Holmes and Lowells." [1]

In the problem of the Carpenter-Whitman relationship it will be profitable for us to note the opinion of Ernest Crosby, who has devoted considerable time to the study of both authors. At the beginning of one of his treatises on Carpenter he points out, "Carpenter is forever to be associated with Whitman. The two men differ from each other yet it is not easy to point out the difference." He goes on to say, "We for the most part lack comprehensive conceptions of the world as well as a term for them, but Whitman and Carpenter are both farsighted beyond their fellows and they preserve a similar and consistent point of view. They see life as a great and transcendent unity, welling up in innumerable forms but always in effect the same, entitled to the same reverence and love, and their hearts go forth to this life." After a continued comparison of the discrepancies and similarities of Carpenter and Whitman, Crosby concludes by asserting, "The difference is perhaps one of education--than genius, but we may be thankful for it, for the world scarcely requires another Whitman yet, while there was need for a calmer and more

1 My Days and Dreams, pp. 87-90.

comprehensive view of the landmarks of the new world."[1]

In a study of Carpenter made by John Spargo, an American contemporary, he gives us his view of the Carpenter-Whitman relationship in the following words, which are well worth noting: "It is perhaps not a vital matter, this question of originality. Yet it seems to me, they must wholly fail to understand Carpenter, who regard him as an echo, more or less feeble, of Whitman. Granted that there is perhaps not a line in Towards Democracy which Whitman would not heartily endorse; that Carpenter accepts every word of Whitmans' message; granted, too, that Whitmans' book served him as a model and made the fulfilment of his great dream possible, there yet remains enough of individuality in Carpenters' works to establish his claim to attention as an original thinker. A very great difference marks the two works, the difference between the simple naivete of the child and the clear vision of the scholar and man of the world. In Whitmans' work we have the incoherences and contradictions of the child who blurts forth with delightful freedom every transient thought and impression. In Carpenters' work, on the other hand, we have the clear, logical thought of a trained thinker, a man of science whose thoughts group themselves naturally and habitually into system and ordered progression."[2]

An early and characteristic example of the sort of adverse criticism that Carpenters' works received is frankly given in his autobiography. It was intended for his second edition of Towards Democracy and some of his socialist pamphlets. Part of it is as follows: (these works are instances of) "the kind of teaching which is now commonly set before the more ignorant classes, and which is probably accepted in good faith by

1 Edward Carpenter Poet and Prophet, pp. 4-5.
2 Edward Carpenter, The Philosopher, pp. 51-52.

not a few among them. A haphazard collection of fallacies to which the semblance of a basis is given by half a dozen truisms, flavored by a little Carlylese, or by diluted extracts of Walt Whitman...such is the compound which 'cultivated' Socialism offers as a new and saving faith to the working classes, and of which the works before us offer a good example." Then follow severe coments on Carpenters' absurd views about Usury and the manners and customs of the Rich, and finally a long quotation from Towards Democracy; of which book the writer says: "And this sort of thing goes on through two hundred and fifty pages, the blank monotony of which is only relieved here and there by a few passages which it would be undesirable to quote, and which it is not wholesome to read." [1]

From the preceding material in this chapter it is evident that Carpenter has been influenced by Whitman to some degree but at the same time there could be no one who had given any serious study to the problem of this relationship who would deny Carpenters' personal originality and claim to individuality in his own works.

From what we have seen thus far it becomes indeed difficult to predict what rank posterity will award to Edward Carpenter as a poet. On the one hand we have the testimony of men like Count Tolstoi, whose critical competence is unquestionable, he declared that while he "could make nothing of Walt Whitman", he understood Carpenters' works well enough to praise them highly. On the other hand, we have the superficial and thoughtless criticisms of those who consider Carpenter as either a clever imitator of Whitman or else they regard his poetry as an unintelligible jumble of meaningless jargon, in the same class with "the good gray poets' barbaric yawp." One group considers him as sane, wholesome, and intensely practical, with a splendid culture and genius. The other

1 My Days and Dreams, pp. 192-193.

classifies him as an anarchistic sansculottic faddist, or a crank whose meaningless, unconventional verse can not endure. In addition to this we have countless contemporary personal friends and devotees lavishing encomiums on Carpenter as a man and as an artist. Probably time alone will resolve the issue.

The remaining portion of this chapter will be devoted to Carpenters' personal relations with Whitman. This material is drawn chiefly from Carpenters' Days with Walt Whitman. Of Carpenters' descriptions of Whitman in this work, Ernest Crosby remarked, they show "more insight into the character of the old man, and the hard fought struggles which it summed up, than any other writer whom I can recall."[1]

Carpenter had written to Whitman frequently before his visit and had received books from him and occasional post-card responses. Their first meeting took place in the house where Whitman was staying, with his brother George, in Camden, on May2, 1877. Carpenters' first impression of Whitman is summed up in the following words: "In that first ten minutes I was becoming conscious of an impression which subsequently grew even more marked--the impression, namely, of immense vista or background in his personality. If I had thought before (and I do not know that I had) that Whitman was eccentric, unbalanced, violent, my first interview certainly produced quite a contrary effect. No one could be more considerate, I may almost say courteous; no one could have more simplicity of manner and freedom from egotistical wrigglings; and I never met anyone who gave me more the impression of knowing what he was doing than he did. Yet away and beyond all this I was aware of a certain radiant power in him, a large benign effluence and inclusiveness, as of the sun, which filled out the

1 Edward Carpenter Poet and Prophet, p.5.

place where he was--yet with something of reserve and sadness in it too, and a sense of remoteness and inaccessibility."[1]

Carpenters' descriptions of his first visit include: walks taken with Whitman and the different persons that they met; a trip on the ferry to Philadelphia; a visit to a nearby farm where Whitman often stayed; and conversations on literature and other subjects.

His final words concerning Whitman written after this first trip are memorable: "As the days went by I began to see more clearly the depths which lay behind the poet's simple and unconcerned exterior. Literary persons, as a rule, write over their own heads; they talk a little bigger than themselves. But Whitman seemed to fill out Leaves of Grass, and form an interpretation of it. I began to see that all he had written there was matter of absolute personal experience--that you might be sure that what was said was meant. There was the same deliberate suggestiveness about his actions and manners that you find in his writings--only, of course, with the added force of bodily presence; and far down too there were clearly enough visible the same strong and contrary moods, the same strange omnivorous egotism, controlled and restrained by that wonderful genius of his for human affection and love."[2]

Carpenters' outstanding impression of Whitman gained from his second visit to him in June 1884 is summed up in the following brief note: "I am impressed more than ever with Whitman's contradictory, self willed, tenacious, obstinate character, strong and even extreme moods, united with even infinite tenderness, wistful love, and studied tolerance; also great caution (he says: 'the phrenologists always say that caution is my chief characteristic--did you know that?') and a certain artfulness, com-

1 Days With Whitman, pp. 5-6.
2 Days With Whitman, pp. 31-32.

bined with keen, penetrating and determined candour; the wild-hawk look still there, 'untamable, untranslatable,' yet with that wonderful tenderness at bottom."[1]

In continuing his summary of Whitmans' predominant characteristics Carpenter uses such epithets as "voluminousness, 'turbulent,' cussedness," and points out Whitmans great all-embracing capacity for love.

A noticeable feature that frequently causes misunderstanding in the interpretation of Whitmans' works is the variety of experiences that its author supposedly participates in, and sings of. The "psychiatrists" are fain to attribute this to a defect in personality, especially when it is evident in an artist, and term his seeming aberrations compensations or substitutions. Carpenter, however, understandingly remarks, "While it is obvious that no man could have in one lifetime run through all the experiences mentioned in Leaves of Grass, the whole point of the matter is that the author actually finds in himself the capability of these experiences, and quite personally identifies himself with them. It is, in fact, just these earth-entanglements, in a character so cosmic in its range as his, which are of special import as giving direction and effect to his individuality and to his work...His was perhaps the most deliberately daring advance ever made in literature; and it is difficult to believe that it could have been made except by one in whom the rocky elements of character were abundantly present. Leaves of Grass itself has this quality of undeniable "thereness"; and when the critics have had their say and expended all their shafts upon it, it still remains solid and untouched--like the earth, which survives all the theories of the geologists and surrenders itself to none."[2]

Another characteristic of Whitman that Carpenter points out--"perhaps

1 Days With Whitman, pp. 37-38.
2 Days With Whitman, pp. 53-54.

the most vital of all, but impossible to be adequately seized or expressed --is what may be called his 'illumination'. Leaves of Grass, of course, would not have been written without it; it runs behind every page--"the vision and the faculty divine." This perception of the universal, this power of seeing things apart from the mundane self, and independent of their relation to that self, appears to be a kind of transcendent faculty in man; which occasionally manifests itself, and which brings him--it may perhaps be said--into relation with another order of existence." Carpenter continues to point out Platos' Allegory of the Cave, and the mania, afflatus, or divine frenzy of the poets. He concludes by saying that this "accounts also for the fact that many people of a mystical tendency, after a momentary illumination of the kind, relapse into a sort of drivel for the rest of their natural lives--circling always around something which they have neither clearly apprehended nor can conclusively forget--but out of the memory of which they hatch systems and 'revelations' and dogmas without end."[1] Two of the points just covered, viz., the continuous identification of the poet with the cosmos, i.e., subject and object uniting to become one, and "illumination", are indispensable in the comprehension of Carpenters' own poetry.

I believe that enough has been said here to demonstrate that although Carpenter acknowledges his debt to Whitman, at the same time he realizes, with others capable of judging the matter, that the "temperaments, standpoints, antecedents, etc.," of his and Whitmans' are so diverse and opposite that there is hardly "much real resemblance to be traced." This is indicated more at length in the prefatory note on Towards Democracy.

1 Days with Whitman, pp. 60-61.

I think it is worthwhile to mention another aspect of Carpenters' relation to Whitman recorded by Will S. Monroe in the following manner: "From the time of the first exchange of letters (1874) to the date of the poet's death (1892) Carpenter was unfailing in material assistance that ministered very greatly to the support of Whitman, and particularly during the half dozen years when the Good Gray Poet was very poor and in bad health. Hundreds of copies of Leaves of Grass were sold in England through his efforts."[1]

In regard to this last point we should not "pass without referring to the ardent little coterie at Bolton in Lancashire who for many years celebrated Whitmans' birthday with songs and speeches and recitations, with decorations of lilac-boughs and blossoms and the passing of loving cups to his memory. J. W. Wallace was the president and Dr. Johnston, Fred. Wild, J. W. Dixon, Charles F. Sixsmith,[2] were some of the earlier members of this little club, which met quite frequently from 1885 onward for twenty years or more. If there was a somewhat Pickwickian note about its revels still no one could doubt the sincerity of its enthusiasm. It helped largely to spread the study of Whitmans' work in the north of England; it welcomed Dr. Bucke on his arrival from Canada with congratulatory addresses and hymns of its own composing; some of its members (the first three mentioned) crossed the Atlantic on a pilgrimage to the 'good gray poet'; and Dr. Johnston wrote a quite excellent little book A Visit to Walt Whitman[3] descriptive of Whitmans' personality and surroundings."

It will be of interest in closing this chapter to note Whitmans' personal appraisal of Carpenters' merit. In 1886 he remarked, "Carpenter is a man of means on whom his estate sits lightly; is intensely interested

1 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation, p. 149.
2 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation, For a tribute to Carpenter entitled Edward as I Knew Him, v.pp.215-223.
3 My Days and Dreams, p. 250.

in the radical problems; is of a religious nature--not formally so, but in atmosphere." To this brief but luminous description of his friend and disciple Whitman added this prophecy: "He will yet cut a figure in his own country. He is now just about climbing the hill; when he gets to the top people will see and acknowledge him."[1]

The same year,1888, Whitman acclaimed Carpenter as "One of the torchbearers; an exemplar of a loftier England."[2]

In re-reading Carpenters' first letter to him in later years Whitman remarked to a friend: "It is beautiful like a confession; I seem to get very near to his heart and he to mine, in that tender mood of self-examination. Carpenter is a thoroughly wholesome man--alive, clean, from head to foot." When another and later letter was read to him in his old age the poet commented: "Carpenter is one of the altogether beautiful people who have made me welcome on earth."[3]

1 Edward Carpenter, The Philosopher, The Craftsman, pp.44-56.
2 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation, p.232.
3 Edward Carpenter In Appreciation, p.145.

Chapter III

We are all aware of the profound influence that Oriental literature has had on our Western thought, literature, and civilization. I have already mentioned in this thesis the effect of the reading of Thoreau, one of the leading exponents of New England transcendentalism which derived part of its doctrine from the East, on Carpenter. It will be the purpose of this chapter to discuss more in detail the effect of the East and its wisdom literature on the life and works of Edward Carpenter.

In discussing Whitman's knowledge of the Vedic and other early writings Carpenter hesitates to state exactly how much Whitman knew of them; but he believes that Whitman had read them desultorily so that he gained "an insight into the heart of them, and to know that his message was continuous with theirs." Speaking further of this he quotes Whitman's phrase, "These are really the thoughts of men in all ages and lands, they are not original with me." Carpenter continues to point out that, "In the Vedic scriptures, and, in lineal succession from these, in the Buddhist and Platonist and Christian writings, in the Taoists of China, the Mystics of Egypt, the Sufis of Persia, the root is to be found--and is clearly distinguishable--the very same from which Leaves of Grass has sprung."[1] To prove this point Carpenter has made a collation of parallel passages from early prophetic writings and Leaves of Grass. This is inserted as an appendix to one of the chapters of his Days With Walt Whitman.[2]

Carpenter was first introduced to the literature of the Orient while he was a fellow at Trinity Hall in 1880 or 1881, by an undergraduate of Christs, P. Arunachalam, a Tamil Hindu, who later became a member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon. Arunachalam presented Carpenter

1 Days With Whitman, p.77.
2 Vide Days With Whitman, pp. 94-102.

with a translation of the Bhagavat Gita, the reading of which, he declares, gave him the "Clue to and Precipitated the crystallization of Towards Democracy."

To show the esteem Carpenter developed for this nature of literature I shall quote from a book of his published forty years after his introduction to it: "books like the Upanishads of the Vedic seers, and the Bhagavat Gita, though garbled and obscured by priestly interferences and mystifications, do undoubtedly represent and give expression to the highest utterance of religious experience to be found anywhere in the world. They are indeed the manuals of human entrance into the cosmic state. But as I say, and as has happened in the case of other sacred books, a vast deal of rubbish has accreted round their essential teachings and has to be cleared away."[1]

The outcome of Carpenters' acquaintance with this Oriental philosophy was an increasing interest in the Gnanis, or wise men of the East, and their ideas that had formed the nucleus and impulse of new movements in various ages of the world. During the years 1880 to 1890 there was much interest manifest in Theosophy and Oriental philosophy in England and a good deal of it was of an erroneous nature. Carpenter at the time felt a desire to visit the East and see these representatives of the ancient wisdom. Finally he received a pressing invitation from his friend Arunachalam and toward the end of 1890 he embarked for Ceylon.

The details of this trip are all contained in Carpenters' book From Adams Peak to Elephanta.[2] The body of the book describes his impressions of the different places visited, especially the various temples and religious shrines. There is one unique description of A Night Festival in a Hindu Temple. Carpenter also pays much attention to the social and

1 Pagan and Christian Creeds, Their Origin and Meaning, p. 268.
2 Vide From Adams Peak to Elephanta, Sketches in Ceylon and India, passim

industrial conditions that he saw in the different cities and towns and their implications. The entire book is beautifully written and the contents are extremely interesting. The most important section of the book describing the purpose of his visit is entitled A Visit to a Gnani, which has also been published in the form of a separate volume.

Because of Carpenters' unfamiliarity with the language it was necessary for his friend Arunachalam to interpret for him the Gnani's teachings. In the section mentioned above Carpenter goes into minute details concerning the teachings. It will suffice here, however, to cover a few of the points concerning ideas that combined to help form Carpenters' Democratic attitude: "At rest everywhere," "Indifference," "Equality." This was one of the most remarkable parts of the Gurus' teaching. Though (for family reasons) maintaining many of the observances of caste himself, and though holding and teaching that for the mass of the people caste rules were quite necessary, he never ceased to insist that when the time came for a man (or woman) to be "emancipated" all these rules must drop aside as of no importance--all distinction of castes, classes, all sense of superiority or self-goodness--of right and wrong even--and the most absolute sense of Equality must prevail towards every one, and determination in its expression. Certainly it was remarkable (though I knew that the sacred books contained it) to find this germinal principle of Western democracy so vividly active and at work deep down beneath the innumerable layers of Oriental social life and custom. But so it is and nothing shows better the relation between the West and East than this fact."[1]

Another paragraph in this section is well worth quoting in its entirety: "The higher esoteric teachers naturally lay the greatest stress on the moral, but any account of their methods would be defective which passed

1 From Adams Peak to Elephanta, Sketches in Ceylon and India, p.162.

or blinked the fact that they go beyond the moral--because this fact is in some sense of the essence of the Oriental inner teaching. Morality, it is well understood, involves the conception of one's self as distinct from others, as distinct from the world, and presupposes a certain antagonism between one's own interests and those of one's fellows. One "sacrifices" one's own interests to those of another, or "goes out of one's way" to help him. All such ideas must be entirely left behind, if one is to reach the central illumination. They spring from ignorance and are the products of darkness. On no word did the "Grammarian" insist more strongly than on the word Non-differentiation. You are not even to differentiate yourself in thought from others; you are not to begin to regard yourself as separate from them. Even to talk about helping others is a mistake; it is vitiated by the delusion that you and they are twain. So closely does the subtle Hindu mind go to the mark! What would our bold commercial philanthropy, our sleek aesthetic altruism, our scientific isophily, say to such teaching? All the little self-satisfactions which arise from the sense of duty performed, all the cheese-parings of equity between oneself and others, all the tiny wonderments whether you are better or worse than your neighbor, have to be abandoned; and you have to learn to live in a world in which the chief fact is not that you are distinct from others, but that you are part of and integral with them. This involves indeed a return to the communal order of society, and difficult as this teaching is for us in this day to realize, yet there is no doubt that it must lie at the heart of the Democracy of the future, as it has lain, germinal, all these centuries in the hidden womb of the East."[1]

The preceding matter will aid in giving the reader an idea of the nature of the essence of the teachings absorbed by Carpenter from the

1 From Adams Peak to Elephanta, pp.176-178.

Gnani and should assist in a better comprehension of his poetry and other works.

In discussing the feelings of the natives toward the English for their introduction of Western science and commercialism into India Carpenter quotes a portion of a letter from one of his Indian friends which he considers characteristic of the general attitude of the people in India and should be given some consideration: "Referring to the poverty --All this terrible destitution and suffering throughout one-seventh of the world's population has been brought about without any benefit to the English people themselves. It has only benefitted the English capitalists and professional classes. The vaunted administrative capacity of the English is a fiction. They make good policemen and keep order, when the people acquiesce--that is all. If this acquiescence ceases, as it must, when the people rightly or wrongly believe their religion and family life in danger from the government, the English must pack up and go, and woe to the English capitalist and professional man! I feel more and more strongly everyday that the English with their commercial ideals and standards and institutions have done far more to ruin the country than if it had been overrun periodically by hordes of savage Tatars."[1]

One of Carpenters' most moving short stories entitled Narayan, a tale of Indian life, the story of two native youths who abandon their village life and fall prey to the machinations of English Commercialism in Bombay should be read in connection with this phase of Carpenters' social thought.[2]

Carpenters' remark, at one time, to the effect that a man who is

1 From Adams Peak to Elephanta, p.361.
2 Vide Sketches from Life in Town and Country, and some verses.

the master of a few trades could come closer to the heart of the mass people in any country of the world regardless of passports, conventions, etc., combined with the fact that he himself practiced his philosophy while travelling show us the sincere democratic attitude of the man. His sentiments expressed regarding some fellow travellers associated with the Salvation Army who were abandoning home life for their ideal, in India, are characteristically Carpenterian. He averred, "I must say that I am Philistine enough to admire these people greatly...Of course it is easy to say this is done out of religious conceit and bravado; but I am certain that in many cases it springs from something much deeper than that." [1]

Another work bearing an Carpenters' relation to Oriental philosophy is a book entitled Light from the East,[2] edited by Carpenter and consisting of a series of excerpts from letters, received over a number of years, from his friend Arunachalam, exhibiting some of the essential characteristics of Gnanam (the divine knowledge as it is termed in India and Ceylon).

Carpenter in the introduction to this book points out that "the letters are written in a spirit of enthusiasm" because their author is attempting "to show in a most favourable light the views of the Gnani whom he represented, as well as the general tenets of Gnanam." Carpenter continues by asserting, "Though I am willing to admit the superiority of the Saivite teaching to our ordinary Western Theology (which is not saying much perhaps!), there are many points on which I disagree with both!"[3]

The substance of the letters center about the same Gnani whom Carpenter visited in 1891 and treat his life, character, and teachings, at

1 From Adams Peak to Elephanta, pp. 309-310.
2 Light from the East, Vide passim.
3 Light from the East, pp. 17-18.

the same time elucidating many points of vital importance in the occult teachings of the Gnani.

There is a supplement to this book, written by Carpenter, consisting of four essays or articles bearing directly on the matter discussed in the body of the letters.

The last essay in this book entitled The Mouna Swamis and the Animals is concerned with the speechlessness and silence of animals and its implications. The greater part of the essay is made up of excerpts from the book by, the American, Joseph Knowles, entitled Alone in the Wilderness, which describes the possible harmonious relations that can exist between man and the animals, but are seldom found today because of civilization and man's separation from nature.

To indicate that such matter is not too fanciful I shall quote the testimony of Emerson concerning Thoreaus' intimacy with the animals. "Snakes coiled round his leg; the fishes swam into his hand, and he took them out of the water; he pulled the woodchuck out of its hole by the tail, and took the foxes under his protection from the hunters."

From this exposition of Carpenters' early interest in Oriental literature, and his pilgrimage to the land of its origin to increase his knowledge of it, we have traced another factor that has contributed to the formation of his thought and works. We have seen that when this Oriental wisdom finds its expression in action its characteristic quality is Democracy, yet a democracy on a higher plane than that which we have been ordinarly accustomed to. When we understand the inclusion of this as an intrinsic part of Carpenters' thought we are better prepared to understand the man and his works.

Carpenters' ideal is embodied in the figure of speech described as the marriage of Western and Eastern ideas, this thought is well expressed

by Edward Lewis who says: "Carpenter is considerably indebted to Eastern thought, and has much sympathy with the general outlook of the Eastern mind; yet the distinguishing features, are, we hope, equally obvious. Carpenter is undoubtedly one of the leaders among those who are making possible that synthesis between East and West in which lies the future, and the hope, both of philosophy and religion. His attitude however, towards life, in contrast with the Buddhistic, is essentially positive, not negative; active, not quiescent; optimist, not pessimist. He does not seek a deliverance out of life, but rather a fuller deliverance into it, he does not disentangle himself from the objects of desire that he may escape them, rather that he may use and enjoy them with dignity and mastery; he would only get from the wheel of life, that he may become the charioteer in the car; and would bring his world thirsts to an end, only in having found the inward fountain of living waters, "whereof, if a man drink, he shall not thirst again."[1]

(See the poem India the Wisdom Land in Towards Democracy, p.440.)

1 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation, p.112.

Chapter IV

We have thus far reviewed some of the predominant forces that concurred to influence the exfoliation of Carpenters' personality thus ultimately determining the form, style, and content of his literary productions and general attitude towards society. We are now, to some extent, better equipped to comprehend the significance of Carpenters' chief work. Towards Democracy.

There is, however, one topic that should be discussed more at length before treating Towards Democracy. It is necessary for us to understand what is meant by "cosmic consciousness" in order to appreciate fully Carpenters' works. I have already cited Dr. Richard Maurice Buckes' voluminous tome entitled Cosmic Consciousness which should be referred to in regard to this topic.

Carpenter in his book The Art of Creation deals rather fully with his concept of the problem of the ego in the chapters entitled The Self and its Affiliations (q.v.) In the same volume discussing the subject of consciousness Carpenter recognizes three stages of consciousness. They are in brief as follows: First a simple or primitive consciousness, in which the knower, the knowledge, and the thing known are undifferentiated. This stage of consciousness he attributes to primitive societies and races, pre-civilization peoples, and the animals. In the second stage the differentiation of knower, knowledge, and thing known has fairly well set in. This stage of self-consciousness he considers to be characteristic of the present period of modern civilization and a necessary phase of development in the evolution to a higher and more desirable stage of consciousness. The characteristics of this second stage are such as--the desire of acquiring, and grasping objects, setting one's self up at the expense of others, a sense of sin and antagonistic separation, and various

forms of bodily diseases indicating chaotic relationships with the sources of cosmic harmony. The third stage has been called cosmic, or universal consciousness. Here the process of differentiation comes to an end and the knower, knowledge, and thing known are once more one. Carpenter declares that "This form of consciousness is the only true knowledge--it is the only true existence. And it is a matter of experience; it has been testified to in all parts of the world and in all ages of history."[1]

When this last stage is reached to use the words of Carpenters' poem After Long Ages "The long Journey is accomplished!....all conventions left aside, all limitations passed, all shackles dropped--the husks and sheaths of ages falling off--At length the Wanderer returns to heaven...And this world is paradise."

In explaining this higher stage of being, in The Art of Creation , Carpenter at one point says: "When the consciousness deepens to that of the universal life, and to the point whence as it were the different races have radiated, then the figures of the gods grow dim and lose their outline, the rivalries and mutual recriminations of the various human ideals cease to have the old poignancy and interest; and their place is taken by a profound sense and intense realization of the unity and common life of all races and creatures; by a strange and novel capacity of understanding and entering into the habits of distant beings or peoples; and by a mysterious sense of power to 'flow down' into these forms and embody therein a portion of the life universal. And with all this come naturally great changes in the institutions and political forms of peoples, and the spreading of the genuine Democracy and Socialism over the earth."[2]

In another section of the same work Carpenters' democratic attitude

1 The Art of Creation, pp. 51-52.
2 The Art of Creation, p.216.

is well expressed in the following terms: "It is only with the incoming of Democracy in its largest sense that the idealisation of the common Man and Woman, of the human being, irrespective of all adornments, occurs. The Egyptian could see plainly that the mighty Pharaoh, as he drove by in his chariot, was a god, but he could not see that the negro slave, who flicked the flies from his royal master, was equally divine; but Whitman boldly says of the men and women of the street, "What gods can exceed these that clasp me by the hand?" For him the sight of a simple human being was sufficient to wake the glow and halo of divinity. This latest and greatest idealisation proceeds clearly from the fact that the image or object in such case rouses the glorified consciousness--not of any one line of experience and memory, not of any particular aspect or section of the race, but of humanity itself. When the consciousness in a man has deepened so far that it is in touch with that of humanity, then clearly any human being may wake that deeper consciousness. And its awakening is accompanied by a sense of glory, wonderment, and perennial splendour as a great or perhaps greater than that which accompanied the visions of the elder gods."[1]

Without this information concerning the extent of the ego and the concept of the nature of consciousness as held by Carpenter it is easy to see how one would misinterpret his frequent use of the word "I", and to one so uninformed his poetry would be incoherent and the use of the first personal pronoun would be wrongly considered mere egotism.

From what has gone before we should, by now, have formed a good idea of what Carpenter means by the word "Democracy." It will be worthwhile to notice what other writers think of his use of this word. Of it John Spargo remarks, "Democracy, in the sense which Carpenter uses the

1 The Art of Creation, pp.193-194.

term is synonomous with brotherhood and unity, and so defined, the title of his great work is an affirmation of belief in the ultimate roalization of the ideal community of sympathy and interest which has been the quest of uncounted ages."[1]

In speaking of Carpenters' title Towards Democracy as a misnomer Ernest Crosby avers, "The name of the book is the worst thing about it. To feel its significance we must go back to the France of the eighteenth century when Democracy was still a dream and the name had not been debased by association with discouraging experiments and narrow parties."[2]

We have already discussed some of the various influences that brought about the production of Towards Democracy. We can now turn directly to some of the details of the history of the work and its nature. It will be remembered that shortly after visiting Whitman the first time and during the northern lectures Carpenters' parents died and about the same time he was introduced to the Bhagavat Gita which he declared gave him the keynote for the beginning of Towards Democracy. In speaking of this period at a later time Carpenter said: "all at once I found myself in touch with a mood of exaltation and inspiration--a kind of super-consciousness--which passed all that I had experienced before, and which immediately harmonized all these other feelings, giving to them their place, their meaning and their outlet in expression."

And so it was that Towards Democracy came to birth. I was in fact completely taken captive by this new growth within me, and could hardly finish my course of lectures for the preoccupation. Already I was speculating how I could cut myself free. No sooner were the lectures over (about the end of April, 1881) than I began writing Towards Democracy. It seemed already there. I never hesitated for a moment. Day by day it

1 Edward Carpenter, The Philosopher, p.54.
2 Edward Carpenter Poet and Prophet, pp.5-6.

came along from point to point. I did not hurry; I expressed everything with slow care and to my best; I utilized former material which I had by me; but the one illuminating mood remained and everything fell into place under it; and rarely did I find it necessary to remodel or rearrange to any great extent anything that I had once written."[1] This early work took place at Bradway, near Sheffield, on a farm, in a little hut built by Carpenter himself "far far away from anything polite or respectable, or any sign or symbol of my old hated life." Thus, "In about a year, that is, by early in 1882, Towards Democracy--that is the long poem which bears that name--was completed except for some technical revisions. The child, conceived and carried in pain and anguish, was at last brought into the world."[2]

The rest of the work was produced at Millthorpe, also near Sheffield. Carpenter transported the little hut that he had built at Bradway and set it down near a brook[3] facing the sun and the south. It was there in close contact with nature all year round that Carpenter produced his works. His belief was that "For any sustained and more or less original work it seems almost necessary that one should have the quietude and strength of Nature at hand, like a great reservoir from which to draw. The open air, and the physical and mental health that goes with it, the sense of space and freedom in the Sky, the vitality and amplitude of the earth--these are real things from which one can only cut oneself off at serious peril and risk to one's immortal soul. And there is somewhat of the same potency and vitality in the very life of the mass-peoples who are in touch with these foundation-facts and outdoor occupations."[4] Thus it was, at Millthorpe, as Carpenter says: "Here through uncounted hours I continued the production of Towards Democracy and my other books, avoiding always the act of writing within the house except when absolutely forced to retire by stress

1 My Days and Dreams, pp.106-107.
2 My Days and Dreams, p.108
3 See the poem Little Brook without a Name, p. 502, Towards Democracy
4 My Days and Dreams, p.145-

of weather or other causes, and rejoicing always to get the sentiment of the open free world into my pages."[1]

In a chapter of Carpenters' autobiography entitled The Story of My Books he tells us something of the history of Towards Democracy and its relation to his other works. Disregarding his early works which he considered "exercises in literature and efforts to vie with then accepted models," he says: "Towards Democracy, of course, has been the start-point and kernel of all my later work, the centre from which the other books have radiated. Whatever obvious weaknesses and defects it may present, I have still always been aware that it was written from a different plane from the other works, from some predominant mood or consciousness superseding the purely intellectual--Indeed, so strong has been this feeling that, though tempted once or twice to make alterations from the latter point of view, I have never really ventured to do so; and now, after more than thirty years since the inception of the book, I am entirely glad to think that I have not."[2] Again in the same connection of Towards Democracy and its relation to his other books, Carpenter says: "Towards Democracy came first, as a vision, so to speak, and a revelation--as a great body of feeling and intuition which I had to put into words as best I could. It carried with it--as a flood carries trees and rocks from the mountains where it originates--all sorts of assumptions and conclusions. Afterwards--for my own satisfaction as much as for the sake of others--I had to examine and define these assumptions and conclusions."[3] Carpenter considers that as the origin of his prose writings.

Towards Democracy in its present form consists of four parts. It will be interesting here to note something of the history of the book.

1 My Days and Dreams, p.146.
2 My Days and Dreams, p.190.
3 My Days and Dreams, p.209.

The first edition, consisting of the first long poem bearing the same title as the name of the book, was published in 1883 at Carpenters' own expense and it "fell quite flat...the press ignored the book or jeered at it."[1] The second edition including parts I and II was published in 1885. By 1886 both editions had received some favorable comments and showed some signs of promise. With the third edition, published in 1892, including parts I, II and III "a certain amount of timid acknowledgement set in." Part IV entitled Who Shall Command the Heart was published separately in 1902, "and by that time the book had established itself. It had ceased to demand Press-appreciations, favorable or otherwise; and so the critics--very luckily for themselves--escaped, and have escaped, without ever having had to give any sort of full pronouncement or verdict on the book!"[2] In 1905 all four parts were published for the first time in one volume. Since then about six issues have appeared, the first American edition, by Mitchell Kennerley of New York, came out in 1912; the English issue of 1916 consisted of sixteen thousand volumes. A recent Americam impression was released by "Bonibooks" in 1939.

One of the features of Towards Democracy is what may be called its readableness. That is, it is possible to return to the work and re-read it any number of times without its becoming stale. We have already commented on this fact in regard to Leaves of Grass, in connection with the Carpenter-Whitman relationship. In his autobiography Carpenter points out that there are "Portions of the poetic and religious literature of most countries, and large portions of books like Leaves of Grass, the Bhagavat Gita, Platos' Banquet, Dante's Divina Commedia, that have this inexhaustible germinative quality. One returns to them again and again, and continually finds fresh interpretations lurking beneath the old and familiar words."[3]

1 My Days and Dreams, p.192.
2 My Days and Dreams, p.193.
3 My Days and Dreams, p.191.

One of Carpenters' final comments concerning Towards Democracy in his autobiography in one way discourages hermeneutical analysis of his poetry and perhaps explains why so few attempted criticisms or reviews of the work occur. He declares: "I do not know that I have ever seen a very serious estimate of Criticism of that book in any well known literary paper. Like others of my works it has come into the literary sheep-fold not through the accepted gate but 'some other way, like a thief or a robber'. It has been generally ignored--as already explained--by the guardians of the gate, yet it has quietly and decisively established itself, and the 'sheep' somehow have taken kindly to the 'robber!' And perhaps the matter is best so. A book of that kind is not easy to criticize; it cannot be dispatched by a snap phrase; it does not belong to any distinct class or school; its form is open to question; its message is at once too simple and too intricate for public elucidation--even if really understood by the interpreter. That it should go its own way quietly, neither applauded by the crowd, nor barked at by the dogs, but knocking softly here and there at a door and finding friendly hospitality--is surely its most gracious and satisfying destiny."[1]

And finally in regard to the general significance of the work he says: "If the world--it seems to me--should ever seize the central fact of such books as Leaves of Grass and Towards Democracy, it must inevitably formulate new views of life on almost every conceivable subject: the aspects of all life will be changed."[2]

In A Note on Towards Democracy (q.v.) which is a sort of brief explanatory preface to that volume, Carpenter declares that during the time of the writing of Towards Democracy the two words "Freedom"[3] and

1 My Days and Dreams, p.201.
2 My Days and Dreams, p.201.
3 Vide Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation, pp. 93-113.

"Equality"[1] controlled all his thought and expression. The importance of these two key-words may be realized when we see that Edward Lewis devotes an entire chapter to each in his excellent book on Carpenter.

In addition to these two key-words in Towards Democracy we find such vital and glowing words and phrases as I have gleaned from the poem and enumerate here below. It should be noticed that such epithets occur frequently throughout the poem and are all indicative of the positive and constructive qualities of this great dithyrambic paean. Some of these are as follows: "Life, joy, deliverance, rest, radiant health, love, laughter, peace, beauty, the soul's slow disentanglement, holy, I arise and pass, all is well," etc. In regard to these Fruits of the Spirit it is well worthwhile to again refer to Lewis' Exposition and Appreciation chapter XII.

The positive strain suggested by the preceding epithets is characteristic of most of the poems contained in all four sections of Towards Democracy. It savors of an exuberance that derives its being from a healthy close association and sympathy with the elemental forces of nature--the sun, wind, and waves and rain, the life giving earth, and "the immense world of MAN."

> "Civilisation sinks and swims, but the old facts remain--the sun smiles knowing well its strength.
>
> "The little red stars appear once more on the hazel boughs, shinning among the catkins; over waste lands the pewit tumbles and cries as at the first day; men with horses go out the land--they shout and chide and strive--and return again glad at evening; the old earth breathes deep and rhythmically, night and day, summer and

1 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation (Vide) esp.pp.206-223.

winter, giving and concealing herself."

"Deep as the universe is my life--and I know it; nothing can dislodge the knowledge of it; nothing can destroy, nothing can harm me.

"Joy, joy arises--I arise. The sun darts overpowering piercing rays of joy through me, the night radiates it from me.

"I take wings through the night and pass through all the wildernesses of the worlds, and the old dark holds of tears and death--and return with laughter, laughter, laughter:

"Sailing through the starlit spaces on outspread wings, we two--O laughter! laughter! laughter!"[1]

There is a message of assurance and deliverance for the individual contained in these buoyant measures that transcends mere hope:

"To be Yourself to have measureless Trust; to enjoy all to possess nothing.

"That which you have, your skill, your strength, your knack of pleasant thoughts--they belong to all. It is a fact and the others looking on you know it.

"That which you have not, your scornful defects, your dumbnesses, your suffering, to understand that you can give of them too, inoxhaustible store--as the old brown earth gives out of her heart, to men; and she knows it but they do not know it.

"To walk along the path which has an equal good on either hand; to give the sign of equality;

"To entertain no possible fēar or doubt about the upshot of things--to be Yourself, to have measureless Trust:

Phehaps that is best of all."[2]

1 Towards Democracy, p.4.
2 Towards Democracy, p.42.

"All riches promised, and far more, I give to you.

"Have you used the Summer well, then the Winter shall be beautiful to you. Have you made good use of Life, then Death shall be exceeding glorious."[1]

"Be not careful about perfections: I declare to you the day shall come when everything shall be perfect to you.

"To be ungainly or deformed shall after all be no hindrance, your ignorance and rags shall not avail for a disguise;

"Past your own futility and vanity you shall walk unfettered, and just gaze upon them as you go by; if learning and skill admit you to wonders, ignorance and awkwardness shall give you entrances equally or more desirable."[2]

It is in lines like the preceding that we discern Carpenters' concept of the Democracy of the future, the society of the post civilization period that will be characterized by "the rule of the mass-Man in each unit-man."

"I conceive a millenium on earth--a millenium not of riches, nor of mechanical facilities, nor of intellectual facilities, nor absolutely of immunity from disease, nor absolutely of immunity from pain; but a time when men and women all over the earth shall ascend and enter into relation with their bodies--shall attain freedom and joy;

"And the men and women of that time looking back with something like envy to the life of today, that they too might have borne a part in its travail and throes of birth."[3]

The exultant tone of this song, at times, almost changes to the air

1 Towards Democracy, p.96.
2 Towards Democracy, p.100.
3 Towards Democracy, p.5.

of a coronach however, as when Carpenter levels his jeremiads at the "smooth faced deadly Respectability" representative of the commercial and ruling powers of England, reprovingly adding, "I do not spin a yarn for you to reel off at your leisure."[1]

Although the poetry of Towards Democracy is in the rhymeless, rhythmless Whitmanesque style to which Carpenter has given the strongest and most emotional expression of his inner vision the form becomes truly poetical whenever the sentiment demands it.

Thus we hear Carpenter sounding the eternal keynote for "Freedom":

> "Here the essence of all expression, and the final surrender of Art--for this the divine Artists have struggled and still struggle;
>
> "For this the heroes and lovers of all ages have laid down their lives; and nations like tigers have fought, knowing well that this life was a mere empty blob without Freedom.
>
> "Where this makes itself known in a people or even in the soul of a single man or woman, there Democracy begins to exist."[2]

And with this note for Freedom we hear the Companion note for Equality blending to form one of the harmonious chords of Carpenters' great hymn to Democracy:

> "If I am not level with the lowest I am nothing; and if I did not know for a certainty that the craziest sot in the village is my equal, and were not proud to have him walk with me as my friend, I would not write another word--for in this is my strength."[3]
>
> "The earth swims in space, the fish swim in the sea, the bird swims in the air, and the soul of man in the ocean of Equality--toward which all the other streams run."[4]

1 See especially stanzas XV, XVI, XXXV, XLI of Towards Democracy.
2 Towards Democracy, pp.9-10.
3 Towards Democracy, p.6.
4 Towards Democracy, p.8.

It will be noticed in the reading of Towards Democracy that when we remove a line or excerpt from its context it loses something; therefore we can leave this great work with a few of Carpenters' admonitions in mind:

"Take care (I have warned you before) how you touch these words: with curious intellect come not near, lest I utterly destroy you; but come with bold heart and true and careless, and they shall bless you beyond imagination."[1]

"Not of myself--I have no power of myself--But out of you who read do I write these words; and whether you understand them or not is nothing to me: I rather sort with those who do not read them."[2]

1 Towards Democracy, p.100.
2 Towards Democracy, p.154.

Chapter V

Carpenter first became interested in socialistic activities in 1883. In speaking of this period in his autobiography he says: "Of course in a vague form, my ideas had been taking socialistic shape for many years; but they were lacking in definite outline--that definition which is so necessary for all action. That outline as regards the industrial situation was given me by reading Hyndman's England for All. However open to criticism the Marxian theory of surplus-value may be (and every theory must ultimately succumb to criticism), it certainly fulfilled a want for the time by giving a definite text for the social argument. The instant I read that chapter in England for All--the mass of floating impressions, sentiments, ideals, etc., in my mind fell into shape--and I had a clear line of social reconstruction before me."[1]

In that same year Carpenter gave his first semi-socialistic lecture on Co-operative Production at a meeting of the Social Democratic Federation in Westminster Bridge Road. There were such eminent socialistic leaders in his audience as Hyndman, William Morris, John Burns, H.H. Champion, J.L. Joynes, Herbert Burroughs, and others. Although Carpenter did not actually join the Social Democratic Federation, he kept in touch with the organization and later rendered material help in the establishment of Justice as their organ.

Later in explaining why he embraced socialism Carpenter declared: "From that time foward I worked definitely along the socialist line: with a drift as was natural towards anarchism. I do not know that at any time I looked upon the Socialist programme or doctrines as final, and it is certain that I never anticipated a castiron regulation of

1 Towards Democracy, p.114.

industry, but I saw that the current Socialism afforded an excellent text for an attack upon the existing competitive system, and a good means of rousing the slumbering consciences--especially of the rich; and in that view I have worked for it and the Anarchist ideal consistently."[1]

Thus it will be seen that Carpenters' brand of socialism, if we may use such a term, is identical with his Democracy in that it cannot be associated with any class or school of socialism. It is essentially spiritual, idealistic, and religious in the broad sense. It is based on an individualism which when analyzed is revealed to be thoroughly compatible with socialism; two ends of the same stick. Like the genuine democracy this socialism first appears in the individual heart:

> "In the deep cave of the heart, far down,
>
> "Running under the outward shows of the world and of people,
>
> "Running under geographies, continents, under the fields and the roots of the grasses and trees, under the little thoughts and dreams of men, and the history of races,
>
> "Deep, far down,
>
> "I see feel and hear wondrous and divine things.
>
> "Voices and faces are there; arms of lovers, known and unknown, reach foward and fold me;
>
> "Words float, and fragrance of Time ascends, and Life ever circling."[2]

Carpenters' most vigorous activities in socialist circles, as we have already noted in Chapter I, were during the five or six years following the establishment of the Sheffield Socialist Society in 1886. It was at that time that William Morris and a few others parted from

1 My Days and Dreams, p.115.
2 Towards Democracy, p335.

Hyndman, and the Social Democratic Federation, and founded the Socialist League, branches of which were springing up all over the country. The activities of these little league societies flourished for a few years suddenly waned and soon died out. As one of the early speakers Morris was instrumental in helping to establish the Sheffield Society.

During these years Carpenter not only took part in the local work but he spoke and lectured in the Socialist connection all over the country--at Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, Glasgow, Dundee, Edinburgh, Hull, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other places--his subjects usually dealt with the failures and defects of the present Commercial system, and the possible reorganization of the future.

During one of these years (1887) Carpenter lived in the slums of the manufacturing center of Sheffield. It was during this year Carpenter spent his spare time arranging and editing the collection of A Song book of the People with Music.[1] The introduction of this book states, "This book is in no sense a merely literary production (as the index shows) but emanates rather from the heart of the people." Some of the songs, and poems set to music, in this book are by such authors as Shelley, Whitman, Robert Burns, J. Russell Lowell, William Morris, and other artisans, professional men, and workers. Commenting on this year of his life in the Scotland Street place in Sheffield in relation to the book, in his autobiography, Carpenter says: "It was a queer experience, collecting these songs of hope and enthusiasm, and composing such answering tunes and harmonies as I could, in the midst of these gloomy and discordant conditions."[2]

In estimating the features that appealed most to Carpenter and

1 Vide Chants of Labor

2 My Days and Dreams, p.136

caused him to support the Socialist movement he asseverates: "The real value of the modern Socialist movement--it has always seemed to me--has not lain so much in its actual constructive programme as 1st in the fact that it has provided a text for a searching criticism of the old society and the lives of the rich, and 2nd the fact that it has enshrined a most glowing and vital enthusiasm towards the realization of a new society. It is these two points which have always drawn and attached me to it. The constructive details of the future are things about which there may be and indeed must be different opinions."[1]

In discussing the popular attitude toward Socialism, and the general erroneous opinion of the revolutionary nature of the movement, and the demagogues, self seeking blusterers, or designing misleaders that sometimes are associated with such movements, Carpenter has a few words that give a unique view of the situation and at the same time show the genuine democratic attitude of the man: "No, revolutions do not take place without cause; and I doubt whether in any case the excesses accompanying a rising have exceeded the cruelties and injuries of the preceding tyranny. There is such a heart of tenderness and patient common sense in the mass of people--everywhere I believe--as to convince one that, notwithstanding the slanders that have been heaped up by the arm-chair historian, they are really more inclined to endure than to accuse, more ready to forgive than retaliate. No--the general Socialist movement(including therein the Anarchist) has done and is still doing a great and necessary work--and I am proud to have belonged to it. It has defined a dream and an ideal, that of the common life conjoined to the free individuality, which somewhere and somewhen must be realized, because it springs

---

1 My Days and Dreams, p.126.

from and is the expression of the very root-nature of Man."[1]

An incident in Carpenters' socialistic career worth mentioning is that of the so-called 'Bloody Sunday' which occurred in Trafalgar Square in November 1887. It was a public meeting intended to protest against the Irish policy of the Government. In his autobiography Carpenter describes the good humored, peaceable crowd which was soon worked up, provoked, and irritated by the authorities, apparently intentionally, and thus creating a minor riot. This reminds one of our American Haymarket Riots and the Pinkerton men. Carpenter was standing with a colleague, Robert Muirhead, and they were soon told to 'move on', before he knew what had happened his friend was seized by the collar by a mounted man and dragged along, while a bobby on foot aided in the arrest. Carpenter jumped to his rescue and 'slanged' the two constables for which he received a whack on the cheek bone from a 'baton', which distressed the more respectable members of his family for some weeks after. Carpenter was asked to give evidence in favor of the defendants afterwards in Court, and when cross-examined and asked whether he had seen any rioting he replied "Not on the part of the people," a large smile went round the Court and he was not plied with any more questions."[2]

It will be of interest here to note that in his book entitled Sketches from Life in Town and Country Carpenter has a chapter called An International Socialist Congress, Paris 1889, in which he describes the activities and events that transpired at that Congress where May-day celebrations were first agreed upon and arranged. This sketch contains a description of William Morris' participation in the activities.

In Carpenters' book entitled England's Ideal he has collected a

1 My Days and Dreams, pp. 129-130.
2 My Days and Dreams, p.256.

series of essays and lectures that are all in some way applicable to the subject of Socialism.

In one of these tracts entitled Modern Money Lending and the Meaning of Dividends Carpenter simplifies the problem of labor and its reward under the present capitalistic system and comments on many of the deplorable and appalling circumstances that arise out of the nature of the situation.

Some of the keynotes of this tract for the amelioration of the conditions involved are simply "justice," and "personal reform" to combat the profit greed which is obviously the primary cause of labor's maladjustment with the "classes."

Carpenters' attitude in this paper is clearly reflected in the following statement: "It is my decided opinion that the more stable section of the working masses is the real backbone of the nation."[1]

In another article entitled Desirable Mansions Carpenter gives a very unique interpretation of the position of the wealthy classes so remotely isolated from nature in their costly and artificial surroundings.

The author describes their aloofness from the rest of humankind, their physical ills, and the consistent and interminable financial vexations that are the constant lot of these stultified "unfortunates" who are building their own prisons.

Comment is made on the unbalanced nature of their education and it actually seems that the scions of these privileged classes are trained solely and primarily to continue and perpetuate the vicious and fruitless practices of their progenitors.

A concluding comment on the entire social and economical set-up characterizes Carpenters' attitude. He maintains that, "The whole found-

1 Englands Ideal, p.53.

ation is aslant--and aslip, as anyone may see who looks. In short, it is an age of transition. No mortal power could make durable a society founded on Usury--universal and boundless Usury. The very words scream at each other. The baron has passed away; and the landlord is passing. They each had their duties, and while they fulfilled them served their time well enough. The shareholder has no duties and is an excrescence on the world, a public pest; and will remain so till the final landslip, when the foundations having completely given way, he will crawl forth out of the ruins of his desirable mansion into the life and light of a new day."[1] This is followed by the statement that those half-baked sophisticates who actually prefer this mode of life are unrestrictedly welcome to it, but those who do not know what they desire are cautioned to pause and think for a moment before they consecrate themselves to life long worship in "that Dagon house."

Private Property, originally a lecture given in London and in Edinburgh in 1886, is intended to clarify some of the difficulties relating to the ownership of property. Carpenter distinguishes between mere legal ownership where an object is held solely to prevent others from using it, and true ownership where a living and human relationship to the object owned exists.

He traces the development of production from individual and personal creations where the claim to private property in material wealth is most valid and widely accepted, to where the labor becomes more social and many combine for the production of one thing. This creates problems relating to values, and remuneration, of a truly baffling nature, such as, reducing the work of one man and the work of another to one standard, and the insurmountable question of the measure of human value. These problems

1 Englands' Ideal p.92.

only admit temporary answers, none of which stand the criticism of time.

Use, and more important, right use as a justification of possession is discussed.

The paper is closed with a brief survey of the historical development of property. Beginning with savage tribes or clans where a communal life in each tribe or clan was practiced, and the individual self was one with the tribal self, to the later individualising of self and the inception of the accentuation of private property, and the diverse system of laws for defining the individual rights and limits of property. Carpenter interprets this development as necessary for man in order to "Learn the lessons of individuality; that he may learn his powers, and the mastery over things; that he may learn his right relations to others, and the misery of mere self-seeking and individual greed; and that having learned these lessons, and so to speak found the limits of Self, he may once more use that Self--not now again with the tribe, but with something greater and grander, namely Humanity."[1]

Carpenter in recapitulating manifests his appreciation of the present importance of legal private property and in the following words tells us what he believes to be the outcome of the modern attitude towards that institution: "If I have said anything, therefore, or been understood to say anything against property-legal property-- I recant it. It is a step, a necessary step, in human development; like many other things it is an illusion, but it is also an indication. Man rising from the savage state, reaching as it were his majority, comes into property (especially is this true of the present day with its vast accessions of material power and wealth), and doesn't know what on earth to do with it! He hasn't an idea of its uses. He hoards it, he hides it, he pursues it, he dances

1 Englands' Ideal, p.156.

round it, hugs it, kisses it, puts it on his head, his back, circles his arms, his fingers with it--falls down and worships it. He locks it in a box and lies awake at night thinking of it; he conceals it in his mattress; he buries it in a bank--as a dog does a bone--and presently the bank grows so big that it has to have columns and a portico; he prowls about the shop windows, staring at it through panes of glass; he buys revolvers and policemen to defend it,[1] and dresses people like himself up in wigs and gowns to talk wise about it--and then believes what they say. He behaves in fact like a madman, and hasn't an idea what he is doing. But there is a method in his madness nevertheless. He thinks that by all these antics he is really getting at something substantial--and so in a sense he is. He is finding out his own properties, he is learning to possess himself."[2]

In The Enchanted Thicket: an Appeal to the "Well to Do" Carpenter directs an admonition to the inhabitants of the "enchanted palaces" whom William Morris called the "dangerous classes" to become aware of their position, and their responsibilities to the rest of society before it is too late.

Carpenter characterizes the congestion that exists in the milieu of the wealthy classes as "a congestion of unused wealth and property, such a glut, as surely the world before has never seen, and to purge which away will surely require such medicine as the world before has never taken--no gilded pill or silent perambulator this time, but a drastic bolus plowing its way through the very frame of "society", not without groans and horrible noises."[3]

A return to a natural, simple, hardy self supporting life in which

1 Prisons, Police and Punishment, pp.80-89, q.v.
2 Englands' Ideal, pp. 157-158.
3 Englands' Ideal, p.168.

the higher knowledge and fine arts are really founded is Carpenters' key to the solution of the social problem.

An opinion expressed by the English press is contained in the front of Englands' Ideal and is worth noting to illustrate the nature of the contents: "There is something in these papers to remind the reader of Ruskin, something to remind him of Walt Whitman, and more to remind him of Thoreau. But they are far from being echoes of the thoughts of any of these men, or of anyone else. Mr. Carpenter is at least an original inquirer and thinker, and as such he stimulates thought in others. This service of making them think is the highest service a writer can do for his fellow-men and women."--Academy.

From this exposition of Carpenters' socialism we find that it is not possible to associate his concept of socialism with any past or current dogmatic system of socialism. Carpenter in fact would certainly not approve or give his sanction to many of the tenets and practices of the so-called socialists. His socialism is synonymous with his democracy and when the time is ripe "the false democracy parts aside for the disclosure of the true Democracy, which has been formed beneath it--which is not an external government at all, but an inward rule--the rule of the mass-Man in each unit-Man. For no outward government can be anything but a makeshift--a temporary hard chrysalis--sheath to hold the grub together while the new life is forming inside--a device of the civilization period. Farther than this it cannot go, since no true life can rely upon an external support, and when the true life of of society comes all its forms will be fluid and spontaneous and voluntary."

1 Civilisation, p.34.

Chapter VI

Carpenters' ideas regarding labor and industry and his attitude towards the modern Commercial system are interspersed throughout, and intrinsic with, his various writings on the different phases of the present social structure. We have already seen some of these opinions as they were shown in relation to previous topics discussed.

Carpenters' life among the manual workers; his occupation as a market gardener; his establishment of sandal-making, near Sheffield, which grew into quite a substantial trade; and associations with the mass-peoples in many countries of the world are all visible evidences of his beliefs and actual examples of his Democratic attitude.

It will be opportune and appropriate at this juncture to examine some of the ideas contained in Carpenters' important essay entitled Civilisation its Cause and Cure. This essay may be profitably compared in many respects with Carpenters' poem After Long Ages,[1] which Ernest Crosby considered to be "The poetical expression of Carpenters' philosophy of history."

Civilization, in this essay, is considered as a definite historical stage in the devolution of human society to a higher and more desirable social organization, and history shows us that no nation has yet superseded civilization. The object of the essay is to show the defects of the present state and indicate the possible nature of the future culture. Carpenter maintains that "The word 'diseased' is applicable in both its direct and derived sense--to the civilized societies of today."[2]

While admitting that the "noble savage" was in many respects decidedly inferior to the civilized man, Carpenter asserts that he believes

1 Towards Democracy, p.218.
2 Civilization, p.3.

we must allow him the superiority in some directions; and the most important of these was his comparative freedom from disease, the discussion of which, is one of the main themes of the essay. In relation to his discussion of the Golden Age Carpenter inserts a quotation, in the appendix at the end of the essay, from J. S. Glennies' Europe and Asia which may be taken at its face value, "The Golden Age was no mere fancy of the poets, but a reminiscence of the facts of social life in its primitive organisation of village and house-communities."[1]

The second part of this essay begins with an exposition (or explanation) of the positive nature of health and the idea of unity; and conversely the case of disease being the lack of unity.

It is continued by an examination of the method of modern medical science and the obvious backwardness of its system of approach. The reinforcement of the central power the re-establishment of the inner harmony or unity is definitely to be preferred to the present backward method of attempting to treat or cure disturbances externally and "independently of the inner vitality."

Self-knowledge and consciousness both unknown among the lower animals or primitive societies appear with civilization, and the institution of private property, causing man to draw himself away from nature, his true self, and his fellows. In this relation Carpenter believes that "the true Self of man consists in his organic relation with the whole body of his fellows; and when the man abandons his true Self he abandons also his true relation to his fellows."[2]

Soon after, or with the inception of private property we see that "governments and laws are instituted with primary reference to its creation, protection, and enjoyment." In this relation we also see that

1 Civilization, p.50.
2 Civilization, p.28.

"the institution of government is in fact the evidence in social life that man has lost his inner and central control, and therefore must resort to an outward one."[1]

Carpenter traces the devolution of government from the monarchial system of the "Kings" or leaders of the pre-civilization period through to the Aristocracy and the Feudal age--the Timocracy of Plato down to the commercial age with its Oligarchy or Plutocracy, in each instance pointing out the concomitant characteristics and corresponding phases of evolution in man. The present stage of development he terms "the era of anarchy--the democracy of Carlyle; the rule of the rabble, and mob law; caucuses and cackle, competition and universal greed, breaking out in cancerous tyrannies and plutocracies--a mere chaos and confusion of society...And if this last stage were really the end of all, and the true Democracy, there were indeed little left to hope for. But this is no true Democracy. The true Democracy has yet to come."[2]

The fourth and final section of this essay is concluded "by way of a glimpse into the future." Carpenter bases his conjectures as to the future of man and his society on present tendencies which point "towards a return to nature and community of life."[3] This "return", he believes, will manifest itself in marked changes in dress, diet, and housing, from that which we are now accustomed to. "External government and Law will disappear; for they are only the travesties and transitory substitutes of Inward Government and Order."[4] Mechanical and other products and contrivances of civilization will of necessity become derogated to the abject subjection of the real man. "Man will use them instead of their using him."[5] The essay is terminated with the thought that there

1 Civilization, p.31.
2 Civilization, p.33.
3 Civilization, p.35.
4 Civilization, p.42.
5 Civilization, p.43.

will be a possible return to the Old Nature-religion, perhaps greatly grown. This aspect of Carpenters' doctrine is treated fully in his Pagan and Christian Creeds, and is one of the characteristics of his constantly recurring theme of Cosmic Consciousness.

The preceding ideas may add something to the opinion we have already formed of Carpenters' attitude towards the institutions of modern civilization. This basic attitude was the foundation upon which Carpenter set his doctrines regarding agricultural and industrial reorganization.

The next few paragraphs will be devoted to some of Carpenters' ideas on labor and industry as he expressed them in his book Towards Industrial Freedom, which was written prior to the first world war and first published in 1917. In an introductory chapter Carpenter points out that the material in the main body of the work in a sense presages a great impending crisis and transformation of Western European social arrangements.

In discussing Industry as an Art he shows how the value of products is increased when they are produced in an atmosphere of freedom and creativeness as contrasted with the present monotonous commercial-industrial method.

In a chapter entitled Beauty in Everyday Life he demonstrates how the nature of Agriculture and Industry are naturally adapted as modes of expressing beauty when the profit motive is cast aside.

Fear, profit, private property, and law enforced by a paid police system are the chief characteristics of our civilization and the dominant elements in perpetuating the inhuman practices that are concurrent with it. These elements are elaborated upon in a chapter entitled Non Governmental Society.

Facts and figures are given in a discussion of Small Holdings and Agricultural Co-operatives, that manifest the unmistakeable benefits to

be derived from adopting these systems as a solution for existing social-economic maladjustments.

The influence of a negative nature caused by the Village and Landlord system since the enclosure of common lands during the period between 1760-1880 are treated in a methodical fashion. Carpenter traces the history of his own district, Sheffield, and shows how it shared the common fate of the rest of the country in regard to land appropriation, taxes, etc.

Carpenter points out many remediable defects in the system of the British Aristocracy and the House of Lords relating to the creation and hereditary inheritance of Peerages and the dubious function of the House of Lords.

In the concluding chapter a discussion of The Social and Political Life of China Carpenter offers much enlightening matter concerning Oriental life and its probable influence on the future of the West. In relation to this chapter on China it will be of interest to see Carpenters' poem China A.D.1900 in Towards Democracy.[1]

Another of Carpenters' essays entitled Englands' Ideal first published in 1884 contains the timely and prophetic words that "The feeling, indeed, seems to be spreading that England stands on the verge of a dangerous precipice; at any moment the door may open for her on a crisis more serious than any in her whole history."[2] The essay is an exhortation to the people of England to cast away its false ideal of gentility and respectability and "look to the new Ideal, of social brotherhood and of honesty."[3]

1 Towards Democracy, p.471.
2 Englands' Ideal, p.2.
3 Englands' Ideal, p.13.

Carpenter believes that part of the solution of the problem facing the people of England lies in a true education which "does not turn a man into a creature of blind wants, a prey to ever fresh thirsts and desires--but brings him into a relation with the world around him."[1] In reflecting on the timeliness of the contents of this essay it seems to me that its title could be changed by substituting the name of any other nation for England and the general content would in most part be applicable to that nation. In this essay the author reflects a decadence that is appropriately modern and of universal application.

Intimately related with the problems of labor and industry is the perennial problem of Crime and Punishment. In one of his early essays entitled a Defence of Criminals: a Criticism of Morality, Carpenter gives us his ideas regarding morality, based on observations made on various types of behavior in different societies and different parts of the world throughout history. The fact is strongly brought out that "moral judgements of mankind vary from age to age, and from race to race, also that they often vary in an extraordinary degree from class to class in the same society."[2]

The idea that the criminal has an invaluable function in society and that the criminals of any one period have invariably pushed to the front and become the respectables of a later age is made manifest.

Carpenter reiterates characteristically that the greatest vices of the present Civilisation period and Commercial age are intimately linked with property and private ownership. Things considered vicious at present were unknown in the pre-civilization period and will have to disappear when the true Democracy of the future is realized. Carpenter claims that

1 Englands' Ideal, p.18.
2 Civilization, p.106.

the moral code of any era "is the code of the classes who are in power."[1]

After examining variations of respect or stigma attaching to some actions under various and similar social conditions, admittedly limiting himself to a few Carpenter voices his opinion (sic) "I think it is obvious that there is no such thing as a permanent moral code--at any rate as applying to actions."[2]

The ways in which behavior is determined are chiefly two: first, society causes moral codes to be formed which influence the individual man externally and sooner or later become part of him; and secondly, by the expansion and growth of his own concciousness. The latter is ultimately by far the most important and both of these methods have to be continually corrected by each other. Carpenter believes that the social life of the post-civilization period of the future will be superior to law.

Another later work in this same field is entitled Prisons, Police and Punishment, an Inquiry into the Causes and Treatment of Crime and Criminals. In this book Carpenter presents us with a study of the inhuman practices inherent in punishing society's malefactors,[3] the inability to judge and impose a penalty that will be commensurate with the offense; and corruptions and defects in the social set-up that encourage rather than deter criminality.

Carpenter freely criticizes what he clearly demonstrates to be inconsistent with humane and intelligent action and offers his remedies for these defects. The work contains many specific and characteristic cases and details that are of direct bearing on the subject.

1 Civilization, p.107.
2 Civilization, p.109.
3 See the poem Portland, Towards Democracy, p.468.

The conclusion is that criminality is more the effect of the social environment than the individual ego in man, and that hypocritical efforts to effect changes without going to the root of the matter are futile and no less than social travesties.

Another prose work by Carpenter that is vitally concerned with social and economic influences, and ties in directly with Labor and Industry is his book The Healing of Nations, and the Hidden Sources of Their Strife. This consists of a series of studies and notes made during the early period of the first world war. In this work Carpenter traces the causes of strife to the rapacity and greed of the commercial classes, who are supported by the military cliques, and offers many valid observations to corroborate his belief.

He analyzes Germanys' historical antecedents and the national psychology of the Germans in the chapter entitled The Case for Germany. There is also a chapter called The Case Against Germany which points out how Germany put herself in the wrong by the manner and methods by which she precipitated and conducted the war.

Many of the comments made by Carpenter are most appropriate at the present time especially those applying to The Psychology of War and Recruiting, and Conscription, which are treated at some length in two separate chapters.

The timeliness of the subject matter, plus the truth of it which has been proved since the last war and the present war contribute to revivify this volume and make clear to the reader many of the avoidable and unnecessary causes of present international discord.

Some of the other topics treated are: the nature of Commercial prosperity which proves to be one-sided and the prosperity of a class

only; the nature of the argument of over-population as an excuse for expansion, which also proves to be somewhat shaky; the nature of The Friendly and Fighting Instincts; and a few words on Colonies and Seaports.

The book also has an appendix containing pertinent extracts gathered mostly from contemporary sources "with the object of throwing sidelights, often from opposing points of view, on the questions raised in the text."[1]

Many parts of the book clearly show the commendable socialistic leanings of Carpenter and his true love for the mass-peoples whom he so frequently refers to.

His solutions of the great issues involved in War and Commerce are so simple that they are ignored by the pedantic sophists. They, like Platos' conclusions in the Republic, resolve themselves into the simple case of all performing those duties that they are best suited for and receiving their just reward for their productions, which would create conditions in which it would be impossible for wars to exist.

These thoughts that show us that the human relationship must be reinjected into the veins of Commerce, and Agriculture, and Industry if man expects them to flourish; and production for use must be made the basis for all production, so that the human qualities relating to the product brought forth will play a part in the picture are essentially Carpenterian and show us another aspect of his high-minded Democratic attitude.

1 The Healing of Nations, p.229.

In the last pages of his autobiography Carpenter gives us somewhat of an idea of the forces and influences that mingled to form his attitude toward problems in the field of sex education. He declares "If in my small way I have done anything towards the social evolution of which I speak, it is I think chiefly due to the fact that I was born in the midst of that Commercial Era, and that consequently my early days were days of considerable suffering. The iron of it, I suppose, entered into my soul. Coming to my first consciousness, as it were, of the world at the age of sixteen (at Brighton in 1860) I found myself--and without knowing where I was--in the middle of that strange period of human evolution, the Victorian Age, which in some respects, one now thinks, marked the lowest ebb of modern civilized society: a period in which not only commercialism in public life, but cant in religion, pure materialism in science, futility in social conventions, the worship of stocks and shares, the starving of the human heart, the denial of the human body and its needs, the huddling concealment of the body in clothes, the "impure hush" on matters of sex, class division, contempt of manual labor, and the cruel barring of women from every natural and useful expression of their lives, were carried to an extremity of folly difficult for us now to realize."[1] In another work in the same trend of thought Carpenter says "It is, I think, not unfair to suppose that it is this indifference or vulgar Philistinism which is largely responsible for the sordid commercialism of the good people of the last century. Finding the lute and the lyre snatched from their hands they were fain to turn to a greater activity with the muck-rake."[2]

Carpenter became acquainted with Havelock Ellis about 1884. He was

1 My Days and Dreams, pp. 320-321.
2 The Drama of Love and Death, p.35.

an admirer of Ellis' works and was undoubtedly to some extent influenced by them. In 1894 Carpenter started writing a series of pamphlets on sex questions which were generally tabooed and practically not at all discussed at that time. It was necessary for Carpenter to have them published at the Manchester Labour Press because they would have no chance with the ordinary publishers. The pamphlets were Sex Love, Woman, and Marriage, and they all sold quite well. Encouraged by their success Carpenter, in 1895, began to put them together, and add fresh matter to them, until he had a book ready for publication which he later entitled Love's Coming of Age.

Meanwhile in January, 1895, Carpenter issued a fourth pamphlet entitled Homogenic Love, from the Labour Press, which was one of the first attempts to deal at all publicly with the problems of the Intermediate Sex. He had placed on the title page "for private circulation only" and this pamphlet was not sold but circulated freely among those interested in the subject or able to contribute views or information upon it. The Oscar Wilde trial which was held in the spring of 1895 profoundly influenced the circulation of works of this nature, and a "sheer panic prevailed over all questions of sex, and especially of course, questions of the Intermediate Sex."[1]

The publishers would have nothing to do with Carpenters' books and some went so far as to refuse to publish Towards Democracy any longer. Finally Carpenter returned to the Labour Press at Manchester and the first edition of Love's Coming of Age was issued from there in 1896.

This book circulated almost immediately to some extent in the Socialistic world where Carpenters' name was fairly well known, "but some time elapsed before it penetrated into more literary and more

1 My Days and Dreams, p.196.

'respectable' circles". This book has been translated into various foreign languages, and in Germany it was immediately accorded a good reception and has since passed through several editions. Because of controversy over it in Germany, in 1912 when the first German Women's Congress was held in Berlin, it became notorious, and when a cheap edition was printed before the World War broke out some fifty thousand copies had been sold.

Looking back on the history of this book in 1915 Carpenter wrote: "It is curious to think that that was not twenty years ago, and what a landslide has occurred since then! In '96 no 'respectable' publisher would touch the volume, and yet today the tide of such literature has flowed so full and fast that my book has already become quite a little old-fashioned and demure!"[1]

In 1921 Edith Ellis said of the book: "When Edward Carpenter wrote Love's Coming of Age some twenty years ago, few people realized that it was a revolutionary book. It held, however, such unconventional suggestions for experiment in new sexual living that one may almost classify it with Karl Marx's Capital, which held similar suggestions in the economic field."[2]

Another of Carpenters' works in this field is entitled The Intermediate Sex, a Study of some Transitional Types of Men and Women. The object of this book is to show that while in human physiology sex is clearly differentiated, though even on this plane there are intermediate types, in human psychology the sex characteristics are not nearly so stable.

These intermediate types he terms Uranians or Urnings, from Uranos, heaven; first called so by K.H. Ulrichs, an Austrian writer, his idea

1 My Days and Dreams, p.197.
2 Edward Carpenter prefacer, p.1.

being that the Uranian love was a higher order than the ordinary attachment. In a chapter on the Homogenic Attachment Carpenter gives innumerable instances in art and literature where the records of chivalric and knightly love are paralleled and surpassed by the stories of Greek comrades in arms, and tyrannicides, and where the tenderest sentiments of the highest types of artists are addressed to those of their own sex.[1]

In a paper entitled The Psychology of the Poet Shelley written as an introduction to a study of Shelley, by Carpenters' friend George Barnefield, Carpenter urges the necessity of considering the material and viewpoints contained in this study for a better understanding of Shelleys' personal character and his poetic works. After emphasizing the great predominance of the love interest in Shelleys' life, the marked idealism with which he invested matters of sex, and the somewhat hysterical tendency indicated by Shelleys' behavior at times, Carpenter concludes, "We arrive at three undeniable marks of the feminine temperament, and are impelled to conclude that the poets' nature was really intermediate as between the masculine and feminine or double as having that two-fold outlook upon the world."[2] Many incidents from Shelleys' life and excerpts from his works are offered to substantiate the correctness of this conclusion.

It is noted that "on this hardly a significant word has been written by his biographers."[3] Barnefield concludes his study of Shelley by asseverating, "Had he lived, he would have taken his place beside the great mystics."[4]

1 Among others Carpenter names: Shakespeare, Michaelangelo, Marlowe, Socrates, Julius Caesar, Theokritos, Martial, Abu-Nuwas, Platen, Byron, Shelley, Darwin, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Tennyson, William Rufus, Edward II, James I, Charles XII of Sweden; and Sappho and Queen Christina of Sweden.
2 The Psychology of the Poet Shelley, p.45-46.
3 The Psychology of the Poet Shelley, p.105.
4 The Psychology of the Poet Shelley, p.125.

In concluding the exposition of this aspect of Carpenters' thought we will note his opinion concerning the importance of the study of this phenomenon of human behavior and human evolution: "The Uranian temperament in man closely resembles the normal temperament of women in this respect, that in both Love--in some form or other--is the main object of life. In the normal man, ambition, moneymaking, business, adventure, etc., play their part--love is as a rule a secondary matter. The majority of men (for whom the physical side of sex, if needed, is easily accessible) do not for a moment realize the griefs endured by thousands of girls and women--in the drying up of the well-springs of affection as well as in the crucifixion of their physical needs. But as these sufferings of women, of one kind or another, have been the great inspiring cause and impetus of the Women's Movement--a movement which is already having a great influence in the re-organization of society; so I do not practically doubt that the similar sufferings of the Uranian class of men are destined in their turn to lead to another wide-reaching social organization and forward movement in the direction of Art and Human Compassion."[1]

This section should not be closed without referring to a work edited by Carpenter entitled Iolaus, an Anthology of Friendship. This is a collection of instances of friendship-love in the history of the world from Pagan times to Whitmans' "institution of the dear love of comrades."[2]

It would be also profitable to see Carpenters' poems: The Elder Soldier to the Younger[3], Philolaus to Diocles,[4] and O Child of Uranus.[5]

1 My Days and Dreams, pp.97-98.
2 Leaves of Grass, p.107.
3 Towards Democracy, p.277.
4 Towards Democracy, 412.
5 Towards Democracy, 414.

In this review we have seen another phase of Carpenters' gospel of Freedom and Equality applied to the most vital of human activities, and another manifestation of his democratic attitude and desire for deliverance and emancipation of the human spirit.

Chapter VII

Carpenters' first formal venture in the field of esthetics was made in 1870 while he was a fellow at Trinity Hall Cambridge. His essay, entitled The Religious Influence of Art won him the 100(pounds sterling) Burney prize awarded annually for the best essay on the subject set by the Vice Chancellor.

In this essay we see Carpenters' tendency to associate closely morals with art as expressed in his incontrovertible belief that the love of art and beauty tend to make "men shrink more and more from the very sight and contact of physical or moral evil."[1] "So true art at any time ought to imply both 'being and doing', reception of the beautiful, and the endeavor to pass it on again to all the world."[2] Thus we see Carpenters' idea that if the cultivation of the study of art bears no fruit in action one of the best and strongest motives to good is lost. The fact that the ancient Greeks whose veneration of moral and physical beauty was fruitful as long as they "preserved the vigor and purity of that feeling by noble action,"[3] and suffered degradation as soon as they discontinued to live their art daily is shown.

From the ideas we find expressed in this early essay it is easy to understand how Carpenters' attitude seen in his later essays Beauty in Everyday Life and Industry as an Art[4] was developed. He soon strongly felt and made known the fact that:

> "Art can now no longer be separated from life:
>
> "The old canons fail; her tutelage completed she becomes equivalent to Nature, and hangs her curtains continuous with the clouds and waterfalls."[5]

1 The Religious Influence of Art, p.26.
2 The Religious Influence of Art, p.5.
3 The Religious Influence of Art, p.33.
4 Towards Democracy, (vide)
5 Towards Democracy, 264.

In Carpenters' book Angels Wings, a Series of Essays on Art and Its Relation to Life we find him chiefly concerned with the mutual or reciprocal effect of Art on Democracy as the true way of life. Carpenter shows why he believes Beethoven, Wagner, Millet, and Whitman, the great artists of Democracy, are forerunners of great expected changes, already incheate, that will influence life, art and society profoundly.[1]

In discussing The Human Body in its Relation to Art we see the principle of "Each part to the service of the whole," the idea of organic unity, and harmonious functioning revealed as "a key to the understanding of art" and a tentative "Master key to the Art of the future."[2]

The chapter Tradition, Convention, and the Gods traces the origin of various vital signs, symbols, and gods which, through tradition, degenerated into mere conventions; and how different historical factors have influenced art down to the present tendency seen in Art drifting away from common life in a seeming attempt to resolve itself into mere personal feeling. Carpenter believes this process "really means much more than this--that it means in the end a return to the religious Synthesis, but on a much grander and more inclusive scale than before."[3]

Carpenter again reiterates his credo that "The Art of Life is to know that Life is Art"...and "Mastery is the great word of the Art of Life."[4] He also insists on Nature, Simplicity, and candid self-expression in all human relations. His belief is "that the evolution of the Fine Arts during the period of civilization is leading up in the present time towards their amalgamation again with actual Life, and towards the recon-

1 Angels' Wings, (Vide)p.22.
2 Angels' Wings, p.83.
3 Angels' Wings, p.115.
4 Angels' Wings,p219.

struction of Life itself as a thing of beauty and indeed the greatest of the Arts."[1]

It may be of interest to note that "Grieg perhaps the greatest living composer (1906) and with the exception of Wagner the most democratic since Beethoven, is one of Carpenters' intimate friends and a warm admirer of his works."[2]

1 Angels' Wings, p.210.
2 Edward Carpenter the Philosopher, p.50.

We have undoubtedly gained some impressions of Carpenters' attitude toward formal ritualized religion from preceding matter especially in chapter I where we saw that he relinquished his orders because the continuance of his life as a clergyman would have been incongruous with his ideals and spirit. Edward Lewis in the following few words sums up Carpenters' general attitude toward religion: "Religion is not to be identified with the Church as an organization, or with its theologies and sacraments. Religion in its broadest sense--the bond which links the individual with the universal, the temporal with the eternal, the actual with the ideal, practical movement with underlying spiritual purpose; the unifier; the common demonimator of all effort and aspiration; faith in the invisible; belief in the infinite manifesting in the finite; belief in the bigger life which oceans mortality; belief in the transcendence of That whose immanence is the secret of every created thing; the unfailing and frank witness to the permanent, whose manifold forms change, but itself abides; commerce and communion--in prayer, praise, meditation, silence and all self-losing with the Unseen; and all this, issuing in reverence, humility, patience, optimism, venturesomeness, self-reliance, love;--Religion in this sense is the first vital necessity for the health, stability, and progress of Society.

"Carpenter does not traffic in the jargon of the churches, but names matter little; the fact, the experience, is the thing; and Democracy, as he interprets it, is essentially a religious fact."[1]

I believe that Carpenters' attitude toward society in general with its inference regarding religion is beautifully contained in the following lines from Towards Democracy:

1 Edward Carpenter an Exposition and Appreciation, pp.55-56.

"Do you think your smooth faced Respectability will save you? or that Cowardice carries a master key of the universe in its pocket--scrambling miserably out of the ditch on the heads of those beneath it?

"Do you think that it is a fine thing to grind cheap goods out of the hard labor of ill-paid boys? and do you imagine that all your Commerce Shows and Manufactures are anything at all compared with the bodies and souls of these?

"Do you suppose I have not heard your talk about Morality and Religion and set it face to face in my soul to the instinct of one clean naked unashamed Man? or that I have not seen your coteries of elegant and learned people put to rout by the innocent speech of a child, and the apparition of a mother suckling her own babe!

"Do you think there ever was or could be Infidelity greater than this?"[1]

Carpenters' outstanding work on the subject of religion is his volume Pagan and Christian Creeds, their Origin and Meaning.[2] This work is rather comprehensive and covers many aspects of ritualism in connection with various sorts of worship in different countries from Pagan times down to the Christian era. Underlying this work we recognize Carpenters' central theme of Cosmic Consciousness, in the light of which, he interprets various phases of religious evolution.

In a concluding chapter entitled The Exodus of Christianity Carpenter expresses his belief, that is also observed in other works of his, that Christianity will be superseded by something probably resembling the Old-

1 Towards Democracy, p.21.
2 Pagan and Christian Creeds (q.v. Passim)

nature religion or a "Holy Human Church" on a higher plane than any previously known. Carpenters' exact words are "We have dealt with the Genesis of Christianity; we now come to the Exodus. For that Christianity can continue to hold the field of Religion in the Western World is neither probable nor desirable."[1]

1 Pagan and Christian Creeds, p.257.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I have demonstrated how Edward Carpenters' life and works became living emblems of his concept of the true Democracy. It has been made manifest that Carpenters' use of such terms as, for example, democracy, socialism, or religion is not to be confused with the conventional connotation associated with such terms. It was found that Carpenters' ideology applying to any particular activity or system while usually embracing the elements found in that activity or system invariably transcended them, and if Carpenters' methods applying to the particular situation were practiced his system would be soon superseding the original conventional one.

The activities and influences in Carpenters' life that contributed most to determine his literary productions have been examined. We have seen how the social conditions into which he was born and his youth spent in fashionable but hateful surroundings when realized in his consciousness became one of the directing influences of his later life. The effect of Carpenters' father's Broad church views concurring with other forces were traced to what ultimately resulted in Carpenters' relinquishment of his Orders. Carpenters' activities, as a University Extension Lecturer, in Northern England familiarized him with the mass-peoples, their habits and social conditions, causing him to spend the rest of his life among the manual-workers and mass-peoples; the important facts in this regard are described somewhat at length.

In this thesis it is shown how Carpenter was influenced by the reading of Whitman's poetry early in his life, and it has also been proved that while Carpenter owes something to Whitman, Carpenters' poetry displays the stamp of his own individual and personal originality.

The temperaments, standpoints, and antecedents of both authors have been shown to be so diverse and opposite that except for a few points we can trace little resemblance of one to the other. We have noted Carpenters' impressions of other American literary men whom he became associated with on his trips to America and have seen what Carpenters' personal appraisals of their respective merits were. The Carpenter-Whitman relationship from Carpenters' first reading of Whitmans' poems to the time of Whitmans' death has been traced. Some of the most significant impressions that Carpenter received from Whitman have been recorded, and we have also noticed what Whitmans' estimate of Carpenters' merit and literary promise for the future was.

A section of the thesis has been devoted to Carpenters' interest in Oriental literature and philosophy, and the result of this interest as expressed in Carpenters' works has been made manifest. It has been shown how Whitman had also been familiar with Oriental literature and how Carpenter demonstrated that parallel passages could be found in Leaves of Grass with the early prophetic writings. Carpenters' early introduction to the Bhagavat Gita, by an Indian fellow student, and the marked influence that it had on him bringing about the commencement of the writing of Towards Democracy is noted. At about the same time as Carpenter was introduced to this Oriental wisdom literature there was a great current interest in Theosophism and Mysticism in England, much of it of an erroneous nature, that caused Carpenter to desire to visit the land where this matter originated. We see how Carpenters' trip to the Orient and his association with the exponents of Gnanam, or wisdom knowledge, helped to corroborate ideas that he had held previously, and these factors have been shown to have found their expression in his life and writings. The essentially democratic nature of this wisdom

knowledge is also observed. Carpenters' interest in the social and industrial conditions of the countries that he visited also find expression in his works and we notice that his democratic attitude is manifest in this way. Carpenters' belief that a synthesis or marriage of Eastern and Western ideals as a probable key to harmonious world relations in the future has received comment.

In discussing Towards Democracy it was necessary to explain Cosmic Consciousness, one of the core doctrines of Carpenters' teaching. The nature of the ego and the three stages of consciousness are explained, and the corresponding characteristics in human and social evolution to each of these stages are described. The nature and history of Carpenters' chief work Towards Democracy is described somewhat in detail. The author's claim that this work is of an inspired nature and was written in a predominant mood or consciousness superseding the intellectual has been observed. The influence of the feeling of 'Freedom' and 'Equality' that the work manifests and the dominance of this feeling experienced by the author while producing the work is discussed. The quality of 'readableness' that the work manifests is explained, and its similarity to other books in this respect has been shown. It has also been demonstrated why there is a lack of criticism of this work and why this condition will probably remain so.

In discussing Carpenters' relationship with Socialism I have described the motives that caused him to embrace the movement and explained why he never became identified with any branch or school of Socialism. The similarity of Carpenters' concept of Socialism with his concept of Democracy in that it is spiritual, idealistic, and religious in the broad sense is pointed out. I have examined Carpenters' ideas

concerning private property and the problems involved in the equable remuneration of human labor. Carpenters' explanation of legal ownership as he describes it has been expatiated upon. Carpenters' association with the Sheffield Socialist Society both locally and throughout the country has been observed.

Carpenters' attitude towards civilization and commerce is the point about which his ideas on Labor and Industry revolve; this is discussed in the first part of Chapter VI. In his works on the various social problems Carpenter gives us his ideas relating to industrial freedom and social justice; these are treated in the same section. We also find Carpenter's writings on Crime and Punishment directly associated with the problems of Labor and Industry and these are also dilated upon in relation with the preceding matter.

A section is devoted to Carpenters' writings on the problems of sex, in which we note the factors that influenced Carpenter to study these problems, and his works and general attitude towards the importance of a better understanding of this vital subject.

The concluding chapter contains an exposition of some of the most important features treated in Carpenters' books on Aesthetics and Religion.

In examining Carpenters' early works on aesthetics we discover the basic principles that determined his ultimate attitude, which is expressed in such later essays as Beauty in Everyday Life, Industry as an Art, etc.

The final pages are devoted to Carpenters' works on Religion. Carpenters' personal religious sentiments are noted in relation with his belief concerning the religion of the future.

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